

The Negotiation of Takapuneke: A Study of Maori-State Relations and the
Investment of Value in Tapu lands

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the contested nature of landscape in New Zealand and on the complex relationships and social processes that are associated with that contest. This includes relationships between people as well as relationships between people and land. A landscape may be seen as a culmination of lived daily experience that acts as a repository for our memories of events and experiences to which we are connected. As we remember or forget our experiences or events, we construct narratives relating how we are tied to our landscape and what that may mean. This becomes a compounded process as more than one group adds different stories that are vying to be told.

Even though New Zealand is a post-colonial nation, neither the groups involved, nor their stories can be divided between primordial categories like colonial or Indigenous. Following this, the anthropology of the State informs us that the State is not a unified organization, but rather is imagined as such through our daily experience with individual institutions that are associated with it. Therefore, the struggle here, I will argue, is between multiple agents that are attempting to position themselves in relation to each other and their shared, multilayered landscape. According to Bourdieu (1998), the lesser goal of this struggle is to maintain or gain social position in relation to the other groups; the greater goal is the ability to reproduce the landscape according to their own interests. In order to do so, groups agree to the value of resources, which Bourdieu calls capital, and then struggle for the ability to control them or direct their use. This thesis aims to explain how those groups move toward those goals.

More specifically, I address these issues through my fieldwork with Maori from Onuku on Banks Peninsula, New Zealand and three non-Maori organizations that are involved with the site. My interviews and observations with participants focused on the site of Takapuneke, which was the location of a massacre of the Onuku community's relations in 1830. This site was chosen because of an initial threat of development that would have destroyed its inherent meaning to the local Maori community. My fieldwork will analyze that data to understand the Onuku Runanga's (council) construction of Takapuneke as

tapu, which is often taken to mean 'sacred'. My analysis will also show the constructions of the site as strictly historical by the non-Maori organizations and the perceptions behind those constructions. I find that the outcome of these complex relationships over the site of Takapuneke is that there is no determined result to the struggle that has been and continues to take place over the issues around the site. These issues are in process just as are the constructions of the landscape and the relationships between all of those involved. While there has been a stabilization of the situation, which I will discuss, that is merely temporary due to the fact that the groups involved have varying amounts of agency (and capital) that they can exercise in order to continue the struggle when the conditions benefit them.

Key words: Takapuneke, Onuku, tapu, capital, landscape, State.

Glossary of Maori Words¹

Each of these terms is defined in the text itself or in a footnote the first time it appears.

Atua – the gods

Hapu – sub-tribe

Iwi – tribe, bone, nation, people, strength

Kai Moana – sea food

Kaitiaki – guardian, trustee, caretaker

Kaitiakitanga – guardianship

Kaumatua – elder, adult

Kawanatanga – government

Mahinga kai – cultivation, vegetable food

Mana – charisma, integrity, prestige

Maori – native peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand

Mauri – life principle, spirit

Noa – free from tapu

Pakeha – non-Maori, European New Zealander

Papatuanuku – mother earth

Pito – umbilical cord, navel

Pounamu – greenstone

Rahui – no trespass sign, place of embargo

Rangatira – chief, landlord, noble

Ranginui – the sky, father of the atua

Rohe – territory

Runanga – assembly, council

Tangata Whenua – local people, aborigine, native

Taonga – treasure, property

Tapu – sacred, forbidden, confidential

Tino rangatiratanga or rangatiratanga – self-determination

Tohunga – priest

Turangawaewae – place to stand, home

Upoko Ariki – head chief, first born

Urupa – cemetery

Wahi tapu – cemetery, reserved ground, sacred place

Whakapapa – genealogy, cultural identity

Whanau – extended family

Wharenuī – meeting house

Whenua – ground, country, placenta

¹

Definitions based on those in *P.M. Ryan's Dictionary of Modern Maori* (1994) published by Reed books, Auckland.

Any difference noted here is based on research done in this dissertation.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the contested nature of landscape in Aotearoa/New Zealand¹ and on the complex relationships and social processes that are associated with that contest. This includes relationships between people as well as relationships between people and land. A landscape may be seen as a culmination of lived daily experience that acts as a repository for our memories of events and experiences to which we are connected. Bender (2001) argues that just as we make our landscape, it makes us. As we remember or forget our experiences or events, we construct narratives around those pieces or gaps to attempt to make a coherent story of how we are tied to our landscape and what that may mean. This becomes a compounded process as more than one group adds different stories that are vying to be told.

Even though New Zealand is a post-colonial nation, neither the groups that I will be discussing, nor their stories can be divided between essentialist categories like ‘colonial’ or ‘indigenous’. Rather the struggle here, I will argue, is between multiple agents that are attempting to position themselves in relation to each other and their shared, multilayered landscape. The lesser goal of this struggle is to maintain or gain social position in relation to the other groups; the greater goal is the ability to construct and reproduce the landscape according to their own interests or as Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:17) says to “[control] the rules of the ‘game’”. This thesis aims to explain how groups move toward that goal.

The concept of landscape has become an important analytical tool for interpreting processes by which people construct meaning through their relationships with their surroundings and with each other (Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995). Our surroundings are infused with memories and events that enable us to construct group histories and identities. By observing how people interact with their surroundings we can learn how they negotiate and renegotiate meaning in relation to their landscape. The meanings associated with our surroundings are commonly constructed through stories, memorials, or other media. These meanings change over time and also as a result of the fact that people move around within the landscape. As meanings change so do the ways people interact with

¹ Aotearoa is the Maori word for the two islands that make up New Zealand. It is typically translated as ‘land of the long white cloud.’ Though both names are sometimes used, to avoid unwieldy text I will shorten it to the generally known New Zealand from this point.

their landscape (Bender 1999). This concurrent course of change in both land and people is a constant process (Ingold 1993). To illustrate these processes, I will examine the case of a ‘sacred’ site called Takapuneke. Takapuneke is located on the South Island of New Zealand, just south of Akaroa on Banks Peninsula. Onuku, the local Maori community in the area, is the traditional custodian of Takapuneke, a site which they consider the site *tapu*. This term will be expounded in Chapter Four. Here, the term can be read as ‘sacred’ or ‘off-limits’.

I would like to point out here some distinctions that need to be made concerning contemporary Maori communities. Most Maori communities have a *marae* and a *runanga*. A *marae* is the community complex and usually includes a *wharenui* (meeting house), a *wharekai* (dining-hall, kitchens) and the *marae atea*, which is the sacred space in front of the *wharenui* (Barlow 1991:73). This is also the home of the *marae’s runanga*. A *runanga* is an appointed committee that acts as a representative of its community in negotiations with central government or other organizations over any number of issues (Barlow 1991:118). *Runanga* can be found at many levels of organization – within the local community, at the *iwi* [tribe] level, or nationally. For instance, Ngai Tahu, the *iwi* with which I am concerned here, has a *runanga* at the *iwi* level that consists of representatives from eighteen local *runanga* that make up the larger tribal collective. Onuku *Runanga* is one of those local representative committees. For the purposes of this study, Onuku *Runanga* is the decision-making and negotiating body in the issues over Takapuneke

Also, I would like to clarify what is considered to be the actual site of Takapuneke (see Figure 1.1 below). For the Onuku community, both of what is labeled in Figure 1.1 as ‘Takapuneke Reserve’ and ‘Greens Point Land’ are considered to be ‘Takapuneke’, including all of the features therein. Briefly, even though the village of Takapuneke itself seems to have been limited to the south side of the land above Red House Bay, the remains of the village and its inhabitants were burned after it had been sacked in 1830. The Onuku community believes that the ashes from those remains were blown by the wind to cover those two areas indicated on the map, thus extending the boundaries of the village to that degree. The burning of those remains will be explained briefly below and in detail in Chapter Three. The Banks Peninsula District Council, which was the most recent titleholder of this land, has considered Takapuneke to consist only of the southern half of the area, as this is where archaeological remains have been discovered. This is the section that eventually became a Local Purpose Reserve known as the Takapuneke Reserve. The District Council considered the northern half of the area to be separate from Takapuneke and called it ‘Greens Point’ land, which it had

zoned for development. To the Onuku community, 'Greens Point' land was and is part of Takapuneke.



Figure 1.1 – Takapuneke area showing main sections and features

The challenge presented by Takapuneke was that for a number of years it was owned by the Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC) and in the 1960-70s they constructed a sewage plant and a trash dump on the top of what would become the Takapuneke Reserve. Later, a new challenge arose through the council's proposal to develop the entire site as a residential area. This threat has since been alleviated due to the amalgamation in 2006 of the BPDC with Christchurch City Council (CCC), which has moved toward protecting the entire site.

As a *tapu* [sacred] place, the Onuku community wished to leave the area undeveloped and undisturbed. As it became clear, beginning in the 1970s, that this might not be possible, Onuku *Runanga* attempted to build and communicate an understanding of the importance of the entire site to them as *tapu*, while BPDC continued to view the area as an economic asset that had development potential. In addition, Onuku *Runanga* strove to build relationships with local bureaucratic institutions, especially the Akaroa Civic Trust (ACT) and the Historic Places Trust (HPT), in order to further propagate their view of the site. The ACT is a civic association that attempts to further the

heritage interests of the Akaroa community, while the HPT is a bureaucratic institution within the state charged with the historic conservation and preservation of the nation's heritage. Both of these organizations have considerable experience in working with the state in order to protect sites that are considered historically or culturally significant. With the 2006 amalgamation of the two councils – BPDC and CCC – things changed. There was less of a need for the much larger and wealthier CCC to view the Greens Point land in economic terms. Instead, it recognizes the cultural importance of the total site based on the historical events that occurred at Takapuneke and its surroundings. At the same time, Onuku people have continued to infuse the entire site with value based on their position as guardians and on their understanding of the nature of the site as *tapu*.

This struggle for meaning is a common way to understand issues surrounding landscape and differing conceptions of landscape can affect relationships in a variety of ways, especially in the event of one group trying to impose their meaning on another (Bender 1993). Colonialism is a prime example of such a circumstance. In colonial situations such as New Zealand, the colonizing Europeans moved into the new country with their specific notions of landscape, based on their memories of their home landscape and the modes of interaction with the landscape that were practiced there. Colonized groups often come under direct pressure, usually following an initial violent campaign, to accept and eventually promote a new vision of landscape rather than their own indigenous version (Bender and Winer 2001). The colonizers, the politically and economically dominant group, try to promote this new concept through the creation of policy, the proselytizing of recreated history, the introduction of flora and fauna, and all too often, by force which attempts to quell any indigenous resistance that remains. As these methods challenge and attempt to change the idea of landscape among the colonized groups, they also promote the now politically and culturally dominant group's legitimacy as decision makers and authority over issues regarding the landscape. This thesis is about one such struggle over the meaning of landscape in a post-colonial context, and about the complex relationships that this has involved.

In the past, because of their political and economic dominance, colonial powers have been able to challenge indigenous ideas and to influence their social conditions. This meant that the colonial authority could set the legal and social terms of how the national landscape was conceived. The management of subordinate groups was accomplished in ways that allowed the dominant group to recreate its authority and dominance. The end result was the continued attempt at subordinating

indigenous groups and their conceptions of landscape, yet not without protest and action on behalf of the colonized.

While New Zealand may have been a candidate for this type of analysis in the past, it is clearly in a different political and historical context now. In part, this is due to the Treaty of Waitangi that was written and signed in 1840 at Waitangi and versions of which subsequently traveled around the newly founded country of New Zealand. Although the longer history of the treaty process is obviously outside of the scope of this thesis, I will speak to this history briefly in Chapter Three. Here I would just like to point out that due to the acceptance of the principles behind the Treaty in legal form from 1975 onwards, Maori have gained a degree of recognition and agency in the nation that they did not enjoy before (Fleras and Spoonley 1999). This was initiated in 1840 with the signing of the Treaty but really only gained momentum in 1975 with the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, which gave statutory acknowledgment of the principles and the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, allowing for claims to be made against the Crown for non-compliance with the Treaty's principles (Belgrave, et al 2005).

Since 1975, these policies have also bolstered the Crown's notional claims to the construction of biculturalism in the country. The claim of biculturalism was a result of a crisis in New Zealand politics, which ushered in policies that allowed for the inclusion of Maori organizational models and cultural symbolism into areas of political power (Poata-Smith 2004). Maori participation in public life was encouraged and was tied to a call for power sharing between Maori and Pakeha by Maori based on the Treaty and its contemporary interpretation. Clearly, the political and economic capital of Maori has been growing and this applies at the local level for local groups of Maori like the Onuku community, who have been very adept at building a considerable amount of influence and status through which they are able to negotiate with various bureaucratic institutions that represent national or local political or cultural power.

The site of Takapuneke: an Introduction

Half way down the east coast of the South Island of New Zealand lies Banks Peninsula. It is a mountainous, rugged land created by two massive, now extinct volcanoes and is lined with bays that cut into the outer edge of the central volcanic craters (see Figure 1.2). The Peninsula has been a part of the *rohe* [territory] of Ngai Tahu, the *iwi* with the largest population in the South Island at the time of contact between Europeans and the Indigenous people of New Zealand. While the history of

Ngai Tahu on the Peninsula is extensive, it is important to note the events directly preceding the arrival of settlers in the area because they had an express impact on the way in which Europeans were able to settle in the Peninsula region. One example of these events was a feud in the 1820s among many of the villages on and around the Peninsula that left the Ngai Tahu population severely reduced (Boleyn 1925).

Other examples were raids led by North Island *rangatira* (chief, noble), especially Te Rauparaha, war leader of Ngati Toa *iwi*. Takapuneke was a village subjected to one such raid. Takapuneke sits to the east side of Akaroa harbour and is a site suited to settlement for two reasons (see Figure 1.3). First, the location of the area faces roughly north and is well protected from the cold southern winds (Jacobson 1940). Second, due to the harbour, the site was in a good general location that was well placed, before colonization, to trade flax with ships from Sydney (Evison 1995). Because of this trade, Takapuneke became a busy port for Ngai Tahu and their primary *rangatira*, Te Maiharanui. Part of this importance for Maori was due to the fact that trade in flax provided guns and ammunition, which were quickly becoming vital for survival (Evison 1997).

In 1830, Te Rauparaha, with the help of a British captain, who had agreed to transport him and his warriors in exchange for a load of flax, raided Takapuneke and killed or captured almost all of its inhabitants, which they then carried off to Kapiti Island in the north. One of those captured was Te Maiharanui. The loss of their *rangatira* is still remembered by Ngai Tahu today. This memory is most poignant to those at Onuku, a nearby village to the south and the closest contemporary *marae* to Takapuneke to which Maori fleeing Te Rauparaha and the massacre at Takapuneke went.



Figure 1.2: Horomaka/Banks Peninsula²



Figure 1.3: Akaroa to Onuku

² Akaroa Harbor is the large bay in the center of the Peninsula, comprising a number of smaller bays. The black square denotes the site of Takapuneke detailed in Figure 1.3.

Years later, in the 1840-50s, Onuku was inhabited by about forty Maori (Ogilvie 1990). They cleared about forty hectares of land and grew maize, wheat, potatoes, pumpkins, and melons to sell to whalers and settlers. Already, we can see that land has become a mediator between Maori and Europeans, using it first to grow crops in order to trade with pre-colonial whalers and others. This role would continue to change over time as Europeans began to settle in the country, with the creation of reserves for instance.

In 1856, 172.5 hectares at Onuku with 1.2 kilometers of sea frontage was surveyed with the intention of creating a Maori reserve. In 1876, the Crown set aside Onuku as a 426-acre Maori reserve (Tainui 2004). By the 1880s more than 100 Pakeha³ were living directly around the reserve (Ogilvie 1990). This village, like many others around the country, has suffered through the years as a result of depopulation as members have migrated in search for work, leaving only two Maori families currently in residence as of 2008 (Wilson 2000). Even so, many members have been able to continue to live in areas near enough to the *marae*, including Akaroa, so that Onuku is still considered 'home'. Onuku is still a vigorous centre of community life. For example, on ceremonial days or holidays the *marae* still hosts many hundreds of people for festivities. Takapuneke is located nearby and is still considered *tapu* by the Onuku community because of the massacre that occurred there. The contest over the site of Takapuneke is but the latest in the mediatory role played by the land.

Tapu is a Polynesian term that has been used in various ways historically. The meaning of *tapu* ranges from 'sacred' to 'off-limits'. Contributing to this variation is the fact that each Maori group has its own version of what *tapu* means and what it entails (Shirres 1994:4). People at Onuku preferred to refer to *tapu* places, such as Takapuneke simply as *tapu*. The Crown, on the other hand, prefers to use the term *wahi tapu*⁴ as it is defined in law and this is quickly becoming the common way to refer to sites in New Zealand that are *tapu*. In fact, HPT has created a national register in order to keep track of historic sites, including *wahi tapu*. Though the Register recognizes *wahi tapu* sites, it does not offer any direct protection of them. Onuku *Runanga* applied and was granted the status of *wahi tapu* for Takapuneke in 2002, but only half of Red House Bay, where Takapuneke is

³ Non-Maori, European New Zealander whose family has been in New Zealand for a number of generations.

⁴ This term will be explored Chapter Five, here it can be read as 'sacred place'.

located, had been set aside by the District Council as a local historical reserve in order to protect it from further development. The other half of the bay was zoned by the Council for residential development.

The Onuku *Runanga* acts as *kaitiaki* [guardian or care giver] to Takapuneke and endeavors to care for it. As *kaitiaki* of Takapuneke, Onuku *Runanga* must care for the area to preserve their relations to Takapuneke and ensure that the *tapu* be maintained and respected. In this respect, the role of *kaitiaki* includes caring for the tangible and intangible aspects of the land. Making sure that people do not desecrate the area by consuming food or walking on the location, for example, helps to accomplish that end. At the same time, the *Runanga*'s role as *kaitiaki* is also about building relationships, which in this instance is about guaranteeing that the entire site is protected and their ability to sustain it remains viable. On the other hand, *kaitiakitanga* [guardianship] has also been codified in the *Conservation Act 1987* and the *Resource Management Act 1991* as a method of resource management. Some Maori have argued against this limited sense of the concept as it leaves out the intangible aspects that are essential to the Maori understanding of the role. I will expand upon the issue of *kaitiakitanga* and its place at Onuku in Chapter Four.

Although Onuku *Runanga* may be *kaitiaki* to the area, until recently the local government authority, the Banks Peninsula District Council, owned the title of Takapuneke. It is difficult to ascertain precisely how this came about, but from as early as the late 1830s, several Maori *rangatira* began 'selling' various portions of the Peninsula to Europeans. Takapuneke and the surrounding area were sold more than once, according to prominent historian Harry Evison (1997). In about 1839, Capt. Rhodes held a questionable title to the site. Though his title could not be legally substantiated, it eventually led to European occupation of the area, beginning a formal line of private property ownership involving the entire bay, which for the next century was used mostly for grazing sheep.

With the proceeds from an endowment farm, the District Council bought the property from a private owner in 1978 in order to build up financial capital for later use on improvements to the local water supply. Because endowment funds were used and the land was not expected to bring a financial return immediately, the Council had to apply for Ministerial approval, which requires the applicant to list the future purpose(s) of the area. BPDC's application listed the following purposes: residential development, household rubbish disposal, amenity plantings, future sewage plant extensions, staff housing, camping ground, marina – harbour and foreshore recreation, town yard,

and undetermined reserves (HPT 2002b). The purchase was completed in 1978, well before the Takapuneke Reserve and Greens Point land sections were recognized and registered as a *wahi tapu* by the HPT in 2002 (Ogilvie 1990).

A rubbish dump was established on the on top of what would become the Reserve section in 1979, despite opposition from HPT and local Maori. HPT's archaeologist determined that there were no further archaeological remains in the area except in one part of the area the site at the bottom of the hill as previously recorded in 1960 (HPT 2002b). The land was left undeveloped until 1992 when Council proposed to divide the area into 5 plots: Green Point residential sites, an area designated as the Takapuneke Reserve, the sewage plant, an area set aside for landscape development along Beach Road, and the residential section already in private ownership (HPT 2002b) (see Figure 1.1). In 2001, HPT again surveyed the area that was planned for development for any archaeological remains. No additional features were uncovered and the entire area was opened for development. The decision to subdivide was made after negotiations with the Onuku *Runanga*, resulting in the establishment of Takapuneke Reserve and an apology for past misuse of the area. The reserve was later gazetted as a Local Purpose (historical site) in 2002 (HPT 2002b). In 2004, the District Council decided to sell the Greens Point land to residential developers in order to use the assets as originally planned.

The issue of development became critical when individuals from Onuku *Runanga* expressed concern over the expected sale of that section. The *wahi tapu* registration and the gazettal of the Takapuneke Reserve were two steps taken to alleviate the controversy around the area. Yet, those steps were not enough for the *Runanga*. The Green Point lands is also considered *tapu* by the Onuku community due to its status as a burial ground, which in Maori is called an *urupa*. The *Runanga* continued trying to fully enact its role as *kaitiaki* by getting the entire site set aside as a reserve so that the threat of development could never be realized.

The possibility of the entire site being reserved moved toward fruition in 2005, when BPDC began amalgamation with Christchurch City Council (CCC). At its last council meeting, BPDC resolved to protect the entire site by setting it aside as a Historic Reserve under the *Reserves Act 1977*. After amalgamation, CCC accepted that resolution and has quickly moved toward gazetting the area as a Historic Reserve. The decision by CCC is pending, though seems likely by all accounts. However, protection of the entire site is not the end of the story for Takapuneke. It is the first step. The next

step will be to decide upon the managerial infrastructure for the new reserve, which is to be called Takapuneke, which will then lead to questions of interpretation and representation.

CCC, with the addition of Akaroa Civic Trust and Historic Places Trust, have already attempted to influence the direction of interpretation by constructing narratives based on a sequence of historic events. These historic events, detailed in Chapter Three, forge a connection between the massacre at Takapuneke and the drafting of the Treaty of Waitangi, making Takapuneke a preeminent site in the bicultural history of New Zealand. Yet, these historical narratives subsume Onuku *Runanga*'s narrative of Takapuneke's importance being based on the site's *tapu*. As we will see, these narratives are not diametrically opposed; instead, they correspond in complex ways reflecting the relationships between the different groups. Yet, the emphasis of each narrative leads to different conclusions for the meaning of Takapuneke and for the groups involved.

Raising the Question

I have been explaining how Takapuneke has become a contested landscape. Not only has the utilization of the site been contested but the meaning of the site has been as well. The Onuku community has continually professed that the site is *tapu* and therefore should be protected. The land as owned by Banks Peninsula District Council was an economic endowment and after shifting to Christchurch City Council, the site has become recognized as a site of significance based on its historical value to the local area and the nation.

Therefore, the site of Takapuneke allows us an opportunity to explore the ways that groups construct and invest what Bourdieu calls 'capital' into the significance of a place in pursuit of their interests. By capital he means a resource that has value to a group (Bourdieu 1998:41). The resource may be in any form – land, power, a cultural practice, or even education. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, Bourdieu theorizes that groups struggle for certain forms of capital in specific contexts, called 'fields'. Once a group has some capital, they can then attempt to use it to influence a situation or covert it to another species of capital in order to gain some benefit in the field. For Takapuneke, there are multiple forms of capital being used, gained and converted – symbolic, cultural and economic. Bourdieu's idea of capital is simply a useful analytical tool that will help us to understand how and to what purpose those species of capital are being used in reference to Takapuneke. We will see that Bourdieu's idealization of capital acts as a unifying concept in demonstrating how groups construct both their landscape and the state as legitimate and valued.

Since this study involves a specific place, it is necessary to consider the nature of landscape as the object into which value is being invested and through which its nature as capital is constructed and, from time to time, transformed. The anthropology of landscape shows that landscape is more than what we may simply perceive or immediately sense, removing it from the constraint that it must be material in nature. It is a cultural construction based on a specific historical context. It is relational, allowing for different constructions of landscape to occupy the same space. This multi-layering of landscape often results in conflict. Because Takapuneke involves challenges to how the location is perceived and understood based on different views of the same physical place, looking at the literature on landscape will help us to understand how similar or dissimilar views have been explored in the past. By linking theories concerning landscape to ideas of capital, we are able to understand the underlying motivations of groups maintaining their own ideas of landscape.

The struggle over Takapuneke takes place in a context involving relationships between the Maori associated with the community of Onuku and a number of state and civic institutions that also have interest in the site. It is therefore also necessary to consider the nature of these relationships, using the notion of the state as a lens through which to focus on them. Though the state is often viewed as a unified whole, the literature here will show that it is in fact a construct of many different agencies through which we perceive the unified state. These bureaucratic institutions act as the interface through which citizens engage with the state on issues of daily living as well as those specific issues concerning them, such as the protection of a specific area of land. Because Onuku *Runanga* has had to build relationships with several bureaucratic institutions, it is necessary to understand how each institution's motivations and power to act is decentralized. This literature also helps us to understand how it is that Onuku *Runanga* can build cooperative relationships with some and disagreeable relationships with others. We will also see how Onuku *Runanga* and the other institutions gain and use their agency in moving toward their goals.

To summarize, I will demonstrate that one way an indigenous group can gain enough access to capital in order to construct meaning in the landscape, and in this case protect a sacred site, is not through direct resistance but rather by using their agency through techniques such as governmentalization and negotiation. In doing so, Maori are able to construct meaning based in their own culture rather than the non-Maori culture. Taking on some of the Pakeha structures of

power allows them to better introduce Maori cultural concepts and values into the mainstream culture.

In order to accomplish this end, Onuku *Runanga* had to build relationships and promote the value of *tapu* within mainstream culture until the cultural value outweighed the monetary value of the land.⁵ To do this, the *Runanga* had to build and maintain relationships with several bureaucratic and civic organizations that acted as interfaces to political power that could be used to protect the site from development as it constructed that value. As the *Runanga* tried to work with Banks Peninsula District Council to no real avail, it bypassed that interface of the state bureaucracy and attempted to treat with Historic Places Trust, which acted as another interface of the state. Though not a direct connection to the state, Akaroa Civic Trust also took on that role for the *Runanga*.

By promoting the cultural value of the site, the non-Maori groups were also attempting to closely position themselves in relation to the site. They were able to tie in their own cultural ideals to the site through the historical events that took place there in addition to the events that led the site to be *tapu*. So, though there are somewhat competing, yet corresponding narratives of the site, they both plug into the potential cultural value of the site. By facilitating the cultural side of Takapuneke, Onuku *Runanga* was able to focus the energy of those involved to protect the site – whether for historic reasons or *tapu* reasons, the result is that the site is protected. Now that the site is protected, and the *Runanga* have gained a seat at the table, it can now negotiate the exact meaning of the site and how it will be presented. Because of its position in relation to the site, the interpretation of the site is much more likely to come out in favor of the *Runanga*'s understanding than if the site had been protected a decade ago, when it didn't have as much power in that context.

Moreover, this struggle is based on the relative strength of the different groups involved and has been affected by the changing relationship between Maori and the state in the country as a whole. Each of the non-Maori organizations' positions within the struggle is based on their association with the idea of the state and its legitimized power. Onuku *Runanga*'s position within the struggle is founded on their claim to the status of indigenous people and *tangata whenua* (original people of the land) and on the national recognition of Maori culture as desirable within a bicultural New Zealand. This makes the struggle not between dominant and subordinate, but between multiple groups vying

⁵ I will explain my reductive language in reference to different types of value below. All types of value are, of course, cultural in nature.

with each other from roughly equivalent positions in relation to the capital at stake in Takapuneke. Due to the particular historical context of active treaty negotiation and participation between the state bureaucratic institutions and Maori, this study offers a unique insight into the use of agency to construct meaning as both Maori and non-Maori assimilate various aspects of each other's cultures in order to find a base from which to progress toward a bicultural future.

Methodology: The Positioned Observer

Conducting anthropological research is a method of taking on the role of what Renato Rosaldo (1989) called the 'positioned observer'. This is the idea of beginning research with broad questions and acting on, and reacting to, the answers or the newly defined directions brought about by those answers. As questions become erroneous, the position of the research shifts to accommodate understanding and new questions form. With hope and luck, the research is guided along so that questions begin to get at the heart of the matter and different levels of understanding are revealed. This type of approach characterizes anthropological fieldwork, where the researcher does not usually know the relevant questions until fieldwork has begun (or is perhaps well under way).

Research is a process occurring over time that has no necessary sequential order (Brewer 2000). The researcher can look at the appropriate literature while designing and deciding on a topic, but that information can only go so far before primary data are necessary. At the same time, it can be considered undesirable to have too many preconceptions before you enter the field. As every ethnographic field is different, it is not possible to pre-program the research in a meaningful way (Hammersley 1995). The more ideas you have upon entering the field, the more likely the data will fit one of those ideas, disallowing any open analysis to take place. On the other hand, without any ideas concerning the research, there is no possibility of analysis.

Indeed, this is how I have come to do research on Maori *wahi tapu*. Having been interested in a wide range of environmental issues and how humans interact with their environment, particularly in ways they (or others) consider 'sacred', I completed a Master's thesis on hunting behavior among non-indigenous, white hunters in western Montana in the United States. As I completed that research, I realized that I wanted to get a better understanding of how people interacted with the land itself in ways that might be considered 'sacred'. After doing some initial research on different geographic areas that had active debates over indigenous involvement with land, I asked several Native American friends where they might do such research. Their answer was unequivocally New

Zealand. I was told that Maori ‘had the best deal’, meaning that there was a treaty process in place and that the government of New Zealand had given serious attention to Maori concerns, unlike the relationship that my friends felt they had with the United States government. After an initial search, it was easy to see that New Zealand did indeed have many issues surrounding land, including *tapu* land, which could provide an opportunity to study ‘sacred’ land.

Initially, I was interested in researching issues of management over ‘sacred’ sites. As I have been interested in both environmental and cultural conservation issues, the management of sacred sites seemed a good way to cover both of those issues. Having arrived on that premise, I was advised to seek out other faculty in order to flesh out my ideas and assumptions to try to find a good focus. After several meetings with faculty and other professional personnel, I realized that the idea of *tapu* and how it was or was not understood was an open question that preceded the question of management. At one meeting with Garth Cant, in the Geography department at University of Canterbury, he suggested that I contact Ngai Tahu and the Onuku community in order to look at a massacre site near Akaroa. The site was Takapuneke. His initial advice on using Takapuneke as my primary case study allowed me to move forward with more direct questions and ideas as to how I should proceed. A further conversation on *tapu* and landscape with Roger Fyfe, curator of anthropology at the Canterbury Museum, solidified my direction. As I investigated the location, I began to see that the question over the values of the site and whether it might be developed coincided with my interests.

It is important to reflect on my own positioning in relation to sacred knowledge as reflected in Takapuneke. I felt comfortable using Takapuneke as a case study because, even though the area was *tapu*, its history was known and had been published in histories of the Peninsula and in newspaper articles covering the conflict. This had been a concern for two reasons. The first reason is that I did not want to gain knowledge about a *wahi tapu* that was still confidential. I did not want to be in the position of having knowledge that was supposed to be kept secret and that could offend my participants in conversation. The practical side of the situation, of course, is that publishing on a site that was secret would be problematic and possibly cause further mistrust between indigenous peoples and anthropologists, even with the necessary measures to ensure confidentiality of the participants and of the site. In addition, had I been given knowledge of *wahi tapu* that were considered secret, and were to be kept so, it would have been unethical for me to use or relate that

information in any form. Therefore, in order to have an outlet for the study it was more suitable to utilize a site that was public and well known.

The second reason that Takapuneke was a good choice as a case study, connected to the first, was that I did not want to confuse any ethical or theoretical issues concerning cultural (re)construction, with which I will be dealing with in part throughout the thesis. Again, by using a site that has been thoroughly documented in many contexts, I hope to avoid having this research used to construct the history or meaning of the site. However, as the narratives around Takapuneke and the Akaroa area are still being constructed and produced, I am aware that this research may be used in the future to validate or add to those narratives in some way. This research is not being produced in conjunction with any organization or for any specific means other than the stated research questions herein. I am not carrying out what Scheper-Hughes (1995) refers to as ‘witnessing’ – a morally committed stand for one side or another, resulting in making judgments.

I understand that this thesis might be viewed as a legitimate source of history or meaning as it is an academic work and ‘a book’, both of which have value in and of themselves in this society (Caplan 2003:6). I also realize that no ethnographic research is free of political connotation (Strang 2003). While I may not completely escape some political implications of my analysis of Takapuneke, by using a balanced representation of the complex relationships that are at work here, I hope to avoid any bias. This research is being done to further the understanding of contexts in which there are multiple layers of history and conflicting perceptions of how those layers should be valued, not make judgments as to which of those layers has higher moral standing.

My next step in conducting this research was to contact Ngai Tahu through their *iwi* offices in Christchurch, which act as a center for the larger tribal organization of Ngai Tahu. I was quickly told to call the Onuku *Runanga* directly as they held the information concerning Takapuneke. Calling the Onuku *Runanga* office, I spoke with Kiri⁶, the *Runanga* secretary. After explaining myself, she said “You should talk with my mum...”. That was my entry into the research.

To conduct this research I focused on open ended interviews, formal interviews, and participant observation. My initial meeting with a participant always took the form of a formal interview, with

⁶All names herein are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants. Although the data gathered here is not of vital or dangerous nature, most of the participants chose to use a pseudonym.

each subsequent meeting becoming less formal. If we were attending an event, then I often tried to help and at times asked questions if the opportunity arose. These methods bear some resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of the world and therefore bring to light issues that may not be easily recognized in literary research. They ensure that research is carried out in a way that is sensitive to the setting, with the primary aim of describing what is happening, how people see their own actions, as well as others, and then situating that information in the context in which it happens (Hammersley 1995). Using observation and in-depth interviews/conversations gives access to the meaning that guides the behavior, allowing for the understanding of not just what, but also why (Brewer 2000).

On the ground, these methods took the forms of visiting with people associated with Onuku in their homes, cafes, offices and at the *marae*, going to and helping with activities at the *marae*, and a good deal of driving. Onuku is approximately an hour and fifteen minutes drive from Christchurch, where I was located. I lived in Christchurch because I was able to tutor and use other University amenities as necessary to complete my research (computers, library, etc). I also found it helpful to live in Christchurch as the majority of the older and many of the younger generations of Onuku lived in town and I would have easier access to them living there. There was no day-to-day community life at Onuku. The community at Onuku consisted of the periodic meetings and events that took place there, which the *kaumatua* often traveled over to attend. As well, driving that distance was a daily occurrence for me in the United States, so it did not seem to be a burden.

In fact, I discovered that the drive became an excellent way to conduct interviews with people that lived in Christchurch but who needed to go to Onuku or Akaroa on occasion. As there were no frequent transportation options from Christchurch to the Akaroa area (bus service runs only once a day each way), driving participants ‘over home’ became a good way to build rapport and gather data, as well as a reason to be at the *marae* in order to help out there. When at the *marae*, I had two purposes: talking and washing dishes. Often one of the *kaumatua* [elder] would pull me aside to tell me a story or show me part of the *marae*, giving me the opportunity to ask more questions and broach other topics. My other task of washing dishes was an excellent supplement to these talks. The dishwasher was on the back porch, away from the actual kitchens and the other workers, allowing me time alone to take notes and time to consider what I had been told.

The pattern I adopted was to arrive at the *marae* with a passenger(s) and talk a bit with everyone who was there. This was the usual greeting banter of any informal social occasion in New Zealand society. This is when I would usually be offered a cup of tea and a chance to sit with one or more of the *kaumatua*. After a time, I would pick up dishes and move out to the porch to wash them. This also allowed me to write down any notes that I found necessary from the preceding conversation and the conversation from the way over from Christchurch. After finishing my notes and the dishes I would go back into the kitchens to help or back out with the *kaumatua* to talk.

My first meeting with every participant was recorded and transcribed. These meetings were used to establish who the participant was and general information about how they knew and what they felt about the issues surrounding Takapuneke. I quickly found that the Onuku participants often spoke to the tape recorder, looking directly at it. The conversation also felt more formal than I thought it should be in order to get detailed information. As I stopped using the tape recorder with participants at Onuku, the conversation relaxed and people spoke more freely.

For each interview, recorded or not, I had a written outline of the topics I wished to discuss. Throughout the conversation I would make notes of key words, phrases or quotes as mnemonic devices for important information. Though this was frustrating at first, my memory for conversations quickly improved along with my ability to take quick and precise notes. After each meeting I would fill out the outline with as many details as possible. Though obviously not as thorough as recording and transcribing each interview, I did find that my non-recorded/transcribed interviews were just as fruitful, if not more so, than those that I recorded. However, I now realize that it may have been helpful to start building rapport with each participant without the recorder present, introducing it later as the information became more detailed and the conversations more lengthy. While this may have given me more detailed direct quotes to be used in the writing of this dissertation, I believe that my techniques were sufficient in gathering the data necessary to complete this research.

My methods with speaking with employees at the various institutions involved with Takapuneke were a bit more formal. These usually included setting scheduled meetings either at offices, in restaurants or cafes, or at Onuku *marae* if there was an event already taking place there. The meeting place did not seem to have an effect on the type of material we covered or the answers I received. In either situation, I found the use of a recording device very handy and almost expected

by those participants. They mostly ignored the device and answered my questions seemingly without reserve⁷. Yet, even in those conversations, after I turned the device off, I found that the institutional participants felt the need to summarize their main point in a more relaxed manner. Often this brought in one or two new details that I would note after the meeting was finished, which were then noted in writing after the conclusion of the meeting.

Using these methods, I interviewed a total of 32 individuals (11 from organizations; 21 associated with Onuku) from July 2003 – December 2004 and in a brief follow-up visit in May-June 2008. The individuals from the institutions were in various positions: the Mayor (the Mayor of Akaroa has recently become the new Mayor of Christchurch), community and city council members, trust members, heritage officers, archaeologists, environmental planners, and property officers. Only three of the institutional members claimed Maori heritage, the remainder consider themselves Pakeha. Being employed in various capacities within the government or government-affiliated institutions, they would be considered middle class. Of the eleven participants from the non-Maori organizations, each was interviewed at least three times. I decided that at least three interviews were necessary in order to get the opportunity to gather information and then recheck it with the participant. In the end, this minimum only applied to the Mayor with the other ten participants being interviewed on average between five to seven times throughout the research, with more informal conversations occurring at events and meetings.

The participants at Onuku covered a wide variety of roles within society. For the *kaumatua* (accounting for six participants), they were retired from paid work. I say paid work, because all of them volunteered in some fashion for one (but usually many more) organizations on top of being a *kaumatua*, which gave them the role of tending funerals, feasts, and other events. All in all, these were very busy retirees. They sat on committees ranging from children's education boards, to social welfare organization boards, to environmental boards, to boards dealing with specific Maori cultural events or programs. They felt it was part of their role as *kaumatua* to share their wisdom and did so generously.

⁷ They ignored my newest recording device (an ipod with a voice recorder attachment) until the interview was over. At that point I was often asked about the device itself, how it worked, demonstrating it, letting them work it. I couldn't help but draw comparisons to classic anthropological texts in which the technology itself became a point of interest for the participants.

The rest of the Onuku participants, ranging in age from 18 – late 40s, had various forms of employment: working for Ngai Tahu as office workers or managers; working at the Onuku office or at the *marae*; working in shops as clerks or artists; manual laborers; students; and stay at home parents. Economically, the range was from low to middle class. All of them had close ties with the *marae* and events that took place there. I will introduce specific individuals and their details in the thesis. Each of the twenty one participants from the Onuku community were interviewed numerous times, with the least amount of interviews standing at four and the highest well over thirty. These numbers do not, of course, account for every conversation that I had with participants. I communicated with several of the participants on a regular basis for the majority of the time I was in the field. Those conversations were often on mundane topics but at times held important information.

The first members of the Onuku community that I spoke to were selected on the suggestion of the local *Runanga* office. Further selection of participants was based on recommendations from those first participants. The selection of participants from the three non-Maori organizations was based on their positions within their organizations and by suggestions I was given. The selection was small as most of these organizations had specific people in positions that were dealing with the Takapuneke situation or other similar situations. Also, I had individuals from Onuku suggest participants in the three organizations, and vice versa, so my pool of participants overlapped at times.

I would like to relate here my position in the research, which came to be an interesting contributing factor to my fieldwork. Upon arrival in New Zealand in June of 2003, my first impression was that, relative to other travels I had taken, New Zealand was similar to the United States in many ways. First of all I was able to communicate well immediately, even with Maori, who, as I had learned from my reading, mostly spoke English as their first language. Language was a barrier that I would not have to deal with in my research, as many anthropologists do, as I found that all of the participants in this research spoke English as their first language, with only two of them having a good working knowledge of Maori language (yet were not fluent speakers of the language). While others knew some words or phrases, this was also true of many of the Pakeha involved as Maori has become more evident in New Zealand culture in the past twenty years.

Although I started to attend Maori language classes in the evenings through the local extension program, I found no opportunities to use the few skills I obtained. For instance, even though I had

learned to formally introduce myself, I was never given the opportunity, even when speaking in more formal contexts with *kaumatua* or *runanga* members. In the context of Christchurch and Onuku, I only observed Maori being spoken in the formal speeches on the *marae*. Yet, because none of the participants in this research spoke Maori, even they did not completely understand what was being said in detail, even if they could follow the general meaning of the speeches due to some of the words and phrases that were used.

Not using the language might be seen as a limitation on researching a specific topic, especially one concerning numinous details like sacredness. However, as my participants did not use Maori language to express themselves normally, they were not translating ideas or thoughts from one language to another. The beliefs they had concerning *tapu* or Takapuneke were being considered in English and expressed in English. As such, the need for me to learn to speak fluent Maori became unnecessary.

Also, greetings and other general social behaviors were similar enough that I could manage without embarrassing myself. Of course, there were several situations where people used words that I did not understand⁸, but their meanings became apparent quickly without mishap. So, instead of becoming stressed at the amount of difference when I arrived, I took in the similarities to allow myself to find a comfort zone in my new home.

It was not until I was in the country for a few weeks that I was able to begin thinking about the differences that I had been noticing. There were innumerable differences for me to think about and to enjoy and only a few that were problematic. The main difference that had a bearing on my work was that I was American. With the general population, even at the university, I found that many people were initially turned off by my nationality, wholly due to the worldwide political situation at that time. This situation eased after I got to know people and endeavored to educate them about the realities of political opinions in the US.

When I had my first in-depth conversation with a Maori participant, about two months after my first arrival in New Zealand, I realized that my being American put me in a classic anthropological

⁸ These tended to be general New Zealand terms rather than Maori words, which I had studied. For example, 'togs' (swim trunks), jandles (sandles), and 'sweet as' (various explanations for this phrase generally meaning good or 'sweet' which acts as a shorter version).

position – that of the culturally ignorant outsider. I had suspected this would occur since I was an obvious outsider to Maori culture. In fact, that was the case but with an additional component of my being an outsider to Pakeha culture as well. Had I been a Pakeha then I would have been expected to know at least some Maori history and the correct pronunciation of Maori words (although Maori participants often derided general Pakeha knowledge of Maori culture).

As it was I was often a source of polite amusement to Maori with my early attempts with language and even street names. At least that was the case when people knew I was a ‘visiting American’, which was how I was always introduced. At times, when individuals did not know I was American, either through not being introduced directly or not hearing my accent, I received stern looks when they heard me mispronounce words on the *marae*. These looks later became understanding when they realized my status. So, in Maori contexts I was often forgiven my ignorance, which, of course, allowed me to ask questions a Pakeha researcher may not have had the opportunity to ask.

While I think that this research could have been done by a Pakeha anthropologist, I do think that it would be much more difficult as a Pakeha would be expected to have a greater knowledge of Maori concepts and would have some difficulty in getting answers to basic questions, especially about *tapu* and its connection to other concepts. Pakeha asking these same questions would have been subject to suspicions about their motivations, at least until those motivations became known. There are obvious examples of many Pakeha academics and others who have worked successfully with Maori in research endeavors.

I must note, however, that although my introduction to new people never changed, the longer I stayed in New Zealand the less patience I was allowed by those I knew well. This was not a problem because I was gaining the appropriate knowledge to ask more complicated questions to those I had known for some time. Yet, every new person gave me the same leeway in our conversations. Though they never explicitly explained to me the reason for introducing me as the ‘visiting American’ I see now that the key participants helped me conduct my research by placing me in a distinct status, even when they knew differently. I will be forever thankful for these individuals’ tact in these circumstances.

For my interactions with participants from institutions, I was treated as a visiting academic, though at times with a bit of confusion as to why I wanted to speak with them. Here, I was also treated as

an outsider to New Zealand culture and bureaucratic complexities, which indeed I was. Again, I found that position beneficial in that I was able to ask simple questions about the inner workings of council meetings and legislative details that I may have been otherwise expected to know.

Culture and Value

The language that is used concerning different types of value throughout this dissertation is reductive, especially in reference to the space that makes up Takapuneke. As we will see below, the focus of the District Council was on financial gain and here that is glossed as monetary value.

Onuku *Runanga* primarily focused on their ancestral ties and the concept of *tapu* in relation to the site, which is glossed as cultural value. However, I am acutely aware that these categorizations are not mutually exclusive and that they fall under the broader scope of culture, as do any other variations of value found within this study. I do not intend any bias by attributing cultural value to Maori and financial value to Pakeha or bureaucratic institutions. I am not constructing a primordial context of indigenous groups as the holders of culture and the Western European groups as cultureless capitalists.

Even so, I will use the terms ‘financial’ or ‘monetary value’, ‘cultural value’ and others, to differentiate the values purported by the participants in this study. These terms came from the participants themselves and reflect their priorities and focus for the outcome of the issues surrounding the site of Takapuneke. While the participants’ uses of the terms are based in everyday language, the categories also suggest how meaning is situated in the site for that group. In spite of the participant’s notions that these classes of values were exclusive of one another, I thought it was important to retain their labels of value with the acknowledged caveat that ‘it is all cultural’.

A Note on Terminology and Capitalization

There are some terms that will be used in this study that have been under debate. Some of these are discussed as part of the study, namely *tapu* (Chapter Four), *wahi tapu* (Chapter Five), and to a lesser extent *kaitiakitanga* (Chapter Four). There are two others that I would like to justify here: the use of Ngai Tahu and Pakeha.

The debate within Ngai Tahu over an alternative spelling and pronunciation, Kai Tahu, was barely mentioned by the participants in this research, being considered a political issue. The original South Island pronunciation of the *iwi* name as Kai Tahu, rather than the North Island pronunciation of the

name as Ngai Tahu can be hotly discussed by some, yet Onuku participants remained uninterested and used the conventional Ngai Tahu form. I have therefore chosen to use Ngai Tahu as this is also used in most academic work and this was how I had originally been told about the *iwi*. It is also the current official name of the institution of Ngai Tahu as a legally incorporated body. I am making no cultural or political statement by using the conventional Ngai Tahu instead of Kai Tahu.

The second term is Pakeha. There are stronger feelings about this term than the difference in pronunciation above. At the time of my research I had the privilege of teaching tutorial sessions for an introductory anthropology class. We discussed the term Pakeha and its usage in class. Opinions ranged from ignorance and indifference to steady stances for and against the term's usage. The definition of the term is debated with the most common understanding among non-Maori New Zealanders that it is derogatory in some manner, though with little conclusion on just how the term is prejudicial or even its definition.

I have chosen to use the term Pakeha throughout this study as a way to differentiate between Maori and non-Maori New Zealanders. Though it could be argued that my usage is making a statement about indigeneity or that it is a political stance, I find the term useful as a tool to denote the dominant majority who has ties to New Zealand through a history of residence. To say New Zealander includes many who are not part of the politically dominant group of white, predominantly European, descendants of settlers, including Maori. Pakeha, rather than European New Zealander, also allows me to differentiate between those who are from European countries and are new settlers rather than those who have been in the country for a number of generations.

As for capitalization, there are two terms of which I would like to make note: indigenous and *runanga*. When either of these terms refers to specific bodies – Onuku *Runanga* or the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand, for instance – I will capitalize them. While there does not seem to be a consistent rule concerning these terms, I have chosen to capitalize them in order to show respect to those who are being implicated.

Summary of Chapters

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to the topic and the reasoning for the project as well as my place in it. I have explained the methodological approach I have employed and discussed the underlying rationale for their use in this study. I have also discussed my role as both a researcher

and an outsider in the Maori/Pakeha dichotomy and how that had a relatively positive affect on my research with Maori participants.

Chapter Two will provide a theoretical context for this study. The chapter will consist of sections explaining the perspectives and literature on landscape, the state, and capital and related concepts. These sections will show how the issues investigated here have been or have not been considered by others, as well as how I will move forward in analyzing the material collected.

In Chapter Three, I will introduce the case of Takapuneke in more detail. I will give a brief history of the origins of the Treaty of Waitangi and its resultant implications for sovereignty and land rights for Maori, as this context informs all relations between Maori and bureaucratic institutions in New Zealand. However, the focus of this chapter will be the emerging narratives that are being produced by the process of seeking protection for Takapuneke. Onuku *Runanga*'s narrative starts with the creation of Te Waipounamu (the South Island) and continues until today. The narratives that the civil and state institutions involved in the site are producing begin with the massacre at Takapuneke and continue until today. Onuku *Runanga* and the non-Maori institutions emphasize different events within the consecutive section of the narratives and give each of those events different value that add to their sense of capital. I will illustrate these narratives by explaining the history of colonialism in New Zealand with an emphasis on the Peninsula area and Takapuneke until the present.

In Chapter Four I will introduce the concept of *tapu*, which is the focus of Onuku *Runanga*'s narrative of Takapuneke. I will briefly discuss some of the general anthropological history of the term from Freud's usage of taboo in his work to the more recent analysis of Keesing. I also survey the use of the term in anthropological discourse specifically in relation to New Zealand Maori. The definition of *tapu* has varied throughout its history from being used to mean a forbidden topic to the specialized Polynesian meaning of 'sacred'. Exploring the history of the term gives me a basis from which to work in finding the meaning and use of the term among the participants from Onuku. At Onuku, we will see that the concept of *tapu* has shifted and continues to do so. Although there are different views from the participants in how they see *tapu*, there is a general theme of respect that is shown throughout the discussion.

Tapu is also the concept in which Onuku *Runanga* has been investing cultural value in hopes of it becoming accepted as a legitimate term acknowledged by the non-Maori institutions involved in this context. Their method of negotiation with those institutions to accomplish this has been through *kaitiakitanga*. *Kaitiakitanga* is the concept of management and protection that Maori follow to preserve their lands, including *tapu* places. This concept is the basis for their commitment to care for *tapu* land, like Takapuneke, and protect it from harm. Yet, *kaitiakitanga* has taken on an additional meaning of caring for relationships at Onuku, including political relationships. They have also invested capital into this type of relationship building for which they have become known, which allows them access to politicians and meetings in which they can discuss the need to protect Takapuneke.

There are three non-Maori organizations involved with Takapuneke: Historic Places Trust, Akaroa Civic Trust, and the Banks Peninsula District Council/Christchurch City Council. These organizations have constructed historical narratives linking the events at Takapuneke with other events around the area that can be inserted into the story of the creation and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In Chapter Five, we will investigate the roles of these organizations in order to ascertain how they may benefit from promoting these narratives, which overlap in important ways and that can in some respects be construed as a single narrative. Also, I will explain the creation of the concept of *wahi tapu* as legislated in the *Historic Places Act 1993*. This is necessary due to the organizations' adherence to that concept rather than to the concept of *tapu*, as understood by participants from Onuku. We shall see how the categorization of Takapuneke as a *wahi tapu* by Historic Places Trust can bolster the non-Maori organizations' historical narratives, even as that categorization is marginalized by those same narratives.

In Chapter Six, I will apply the theoretical concepts that I introduced in Chapter Two to the data of Takapuneke. I explain the complex relationships that each group has to investing capital and/or exchanging that capital in order to benefit in some way. We will see that there are multiple options of conclusion with the context of Takapuneke. As the area is still in process, it is not possible to draw the theory to a definite end. I will, however, give an explanation of the outcomes that are likely given the data at hand. Chapter Seven will conclude this dissertation.

Chapter Two

Investigating Landscapes of Value: Landscape, the State and the application of Capital

The context of Takapuneke shows that there are a variety of different institutions involved in a struggle over the meaning of the site. Each of these groups has a particular point of view, but there is also a commonality of interest across them, particularly in view of the national recognition of the importance of Maori culture and history. In order to manage the details of this case, I will need to explore a number of analytical and theoretical issues in the thesis, including different understandings of landscape and the role of memory in those understandings, the nature of the state, the notion of *tapu* and *wahi tapu*, and the application of value to the site of Takapuneke.

Because this study deals directly with a particular site, the anthropology of landscape will be helpful in evaluating how groups construct the landscape and attach meaning to it. Such constructions take place within a historical context. Yet, as groups are selective about how they remember their past, it is important to also look at the role of memory in the (re)production of the landscape. Additionally, because this study is set in a post-colonial nation where issues over land ownership have a long and contentious history, it is also important to touch on issues of property and ownership. Here we will see that ownership can take the form of claims for recognition rather than exclusive rights to use or resources.

Furthermore, as multiple institutions, either representing or associated with the New Zealand central government, now recognize the site of Takapuneke, it is necessary to explore the concept of the state. The institutions involved with the area are the agents with which Onuku *Runanga*, the Maori community associated with Takapuneke, had to negotiate in order to gain protection for the entire site. We will see that there are complex linkages between Onuku *Runanga* and each of the non-Maori organizations. To make analytical sense of these constructions and relationships, I will use Bourdieu's concept of capital to explain how Takapuneke is being perceived to have different values in order to fulfill each group's purpose.

Landscape

At one basic level, the issues surrounding Takapuneke are grounded in values invested in the actual place. We will see throughout this study that there is a struggle over which values should be prominent and how those values are understood. I will investigate these processes concerning a

struggle over land through the concept of landscape. Landscapes are often thought of as vistas, open space in which we live or which we view.¹ Here I will use Low and Lawrence-Zuniga's (2003) concept of landscape as the culmination of a lived, daily experience and the events that derive from this. So, landscape is a product of our experience with our surroundings. Additionally, Stewart and Strathern (2003; Skoczen 2008) assert that landscape is the imagined setting that helps to structure people's places, which are more specific sites of experience, social meaning and identity. As we will see in Chapter Four and Five, Takapuneke represents a different set of meanings and experiences for Onuku *Runanga* than it does for the other organizations involved with it.

While Bender (2001:4) also sees landscape as a product of our experience with our surroundings, she adds that how the land is to be used is also part of imagining the landscape – both how we idealize land use and how that gets enacted through actual practices. Bender, following Heidegger, argues that landscape is not artefactual and that our interactions with land are a matter of subjective, phenomenological experience dependant on our 'being in' and learning 'how to go on' in our surroundings. She contends that just as we make our landscape, it is making us. In this respect, our identity is plastic. It is subject to change and transformation, like landscape (Tilley 2006). The old view of identity as concretized has given way to the idea of identity as fluid, due to the fact that people are faced with change in their societies (ibid).

Groups that know the histories or have had direct experience with certain places construct identities based on those places, making landscape a good medium at showing clashes of differing values (Morphy 1993; Forss 2009). Groups elicit the imagination of the landscape from each other by agreeing to or challenging the values and perceptions instilled in it. Morphy (1993:207; Espinosa 2009) argues that competing groups may have similar feelings about a landscape but tend to construct its meaning differently due to their culturally-based structure of values. However, all the constructions pertaining to a specific landscape are related to some extent and will influence one another. This type of interaction is time consuming work that requires repeated acts to create relationships between the people involved and between the people and their landscape (Tilley 2006; Tveskov 2007). Bender (2001) states that this is a constantly changing process – who we are at any given time, what is going on around us and how we are able to engage with our landscape adds dimension to the process. Tilley (2006; Rodman 2003) agrees, specifying that landscape is produced

¹ see Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) for a detailed history of the evolution of landscape as a concept in Western thought.

and reproduced according to individual, social and political contexts, resulting in each group within the landscape attempting to make it reflect their own discourse. Moreover, interpretation and understanding of the landscape will shift according to changes in those contexts (Morphy 1995; Adams 2008). In New Zealand, there has been a significant shift in the value that is placed on landscape due to the change in the position of Maori and Maori culture, especially since the inception of the Waitangi Tribunal. For Takapuneke in particular, this study documents the alterations in value that have happened historically and that are currently in process. The historical context through which the nature of land and landscape can be understood in New Zealand in brief and Takapuneke in detail will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Modification of the values sown into localities due to changes in context may be further encoded in each place through ‘performing [the] values through action’ (Strang 2000:276; Cody 2009). The values and actions are important because they become social rules by which behaviour is deemed appropriate or inappropriate in the landscape or place. Strang (1997:172) argues that value is the framework that helps us determine what is important and then influences us to interact with the landscape in culturally specific ways. Ultimately, she contends that we value what we have been taught to value

This argument follows Munn’s (1992) conception of meaning being derived from culture. Munn (1992:6) contends that actors construct meaning as they are constructed by it. The landscape is the arena for action, but like the actors, it is also constructed by the action and the cultural processes that make the action. She terms this cyclical reproduction ‘intersubjectivity’. It is from this (re)constructed material world that we learn to value, which then influences our relationships to others and the material world. The more value something or someone has for an individual, the stronger a relationship to that object or person will be. However, there are different levels of value. Appadurai (1988) calls these levels ‘regimes of value’.

Appadurai (1988:3) claims that material things have social lives of their own and that value is not inherent but rather a judgment made by agents. However, this does not mean that meaning remains with the agent; instead the object takes on the meaning and ‘carries it around’ separate from any agent. Some objects have more meaning due to the objects history, for instance - the circumstances under which it was made or because of through whose hands the object has passed - creating a biography over time. Appadurai says that objects with longer biographies can be considered more

valuable than other objects, relating to a higher level or regime of value. As with Munn's intersubjectivity, there is a reciprocating process of value being (re)constructed between individuals and objects.

Milton (2002:93) proposes that values are constructed by integrating conceptual cognitive structures and our subjective emotional responses to those structures. She argues that emotions are social phenomena that come about due to the social conditions in which we interact with others. Here she is using the term 'emotion' to mean a reaction to stimuli in our relationships with each other and our environment. She closely compares these types of responses with the reaction a predator or its prey might have to the presence of the other (Milton 2002:98). These emotional responses then motivate an individual, or a predator or prey to use her example, to some form of action based on the stimulus or meaning in our environment. In brief, Milton (2002:100) maintains that we engage with our environment and perceive meaning in our interactions with it and others. These perceived meanings give things their value, but we recognize those meanings through the emotions they induce. For Milton, emotion is the basis for motivation for action or interaction.

Milton (2002:4) acknowledges that in most Western cultures emotions are considered irrational and therefore it is difficult to recognize them as the foundation for our system of values. In her argument, she juxtaposes reason and emotion and contends that we rely on our emotional responses to stimuli in our environment as the motivation in our construction of meaning and thus value. I, like Strang (1997:176), take issue with this type of argument, especially when Milton (2002:101-109) connects these differences with primordial categories of Western (reasoned/profane) and indigenous (emotional/sacred). I also take issues with Milton's proposal that we derive meaning from responses to signs within our environment and that, at least, partly our emotions are unreasoned. I agree with Strang in her claim that while there may be a difference between a reasoned assessment of value and a 'feeling' of it, we should attempt to integrate these categories for a more holistic view of the construction of value. While Milton offers some compelling conclusions on what motivates individuals to value some things over others, it seems safe to say that there is more work to be done.

What is agreed upon is that value depends on context and reciprocating processes of (re)construction (Morphy 2002, Strang 1997, Munn 1992, Appadurai 1988). As contexts change, values also change as people and objects are all related to each other along a continuum of relations (Morphy 2002). In

terms of landscape, Morphy (2002:4) states that each group involved in instilling value into a landscape has to take all other groups and their values into account as well. To some extent, each group shares its values with every other group present. There are no absolute boundaries between processes of (re)production (Flint and Morphy 2000). Instead, as groups participate in constructing value they are reproducing it, themselves and the other groups, while all the others are doing the same simultaneously. Even so, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003:32), following de Certeau (1984), state that social action, in this sense, can then allow a group to create the space in their own way rather than being completely subject to it through another group's social understanding. This creation of space can allow different worlds to occupy the same physical space, constructing multiple layers of meaning (Thomas 2001:181).

However, Bender and Winer (2001:5), like Tilley (2006) and Killick (2008), argue that as contexts change, a group's vision and relation to their landscape and to other landscapes can shift. It is at this point that we need to be aware of whose story is being told and how that naturalizes social relations, as it is just as easy to disregard information in the untold story as it is in the already told story. In this way, each group may have a valid view of a particular area, showing the plasticity in landscape due to the individuality through which it is experienced (Stewart and Strathern 2003). This sense of multiple constructions of landscape is illustrated in the site of Takapuneke. Each group contributes a layer of meaning to the area, some of which correspond. Yet, as each group attempts to promote their narrative of the entire site, their ability to promote the values represented in their narrative plays a role in whether that narrative is advanced over another. Therefore, while Takapuneke fits the model of multiple layers of meaning within one place, the question to be answered here is how each of these groups creates those spaces in their own terms. Chapters Three, Four and Five will show how each of the groups attempts to construct those layers.

Strang's (2001) study of a river management group in Queensland offers an illustration of the negotiation of the multiple layers of meaning associated with a site. Her research involved six groups whose mission was to manage a watershed, over which they often contended for access and use (ibid:73). While each group had an interest in the river, they each had differing ways of relating to it. One example of these relations was an Aboriginal group, which emphasized their spiritual ties to the land. This positioned them within the management group as legitimate due to having 'ancient ties' to the land (ibid:75). However, a pastoralist group also made claims to a deep historical connection to the land through the iconic idea of the 'pioneer'. Interestingly, the Aboriginal group

was able to gain power due to the growth in capital of Aboriginal spirituality in the broader Australian culture, whereas the pastoralists were losing power because of the current denigration of their adversarial attitude toward the environment. In answer to this problem, station managers began to use Aboriginal ways of talking about the land in an effort to regain some of their power by using a discourse that had become accepted within Australian society (ibid:77)².

Strang's (2001:69) conclusion is that group boundaries are not clearly defined, allowing people to switch between different ones as needed, as with the Aboriginal group and the station managers taking on aspects of each other's position in society. Transitions were most likely between groups that had corresponding values. This allowed people to maintain their own values, while switching to another group. In reference to the river management group, she (ibid:80) argues that particular groups with little power within the larger management group were able to change their tactics to align themselves with groups with more power. Doing so gave them a better position within society, helping to facilitate their ability to wield their power in the management of the river. The example of the pastoralist use of Aboriginal terms exemplifies this shift in tactics.

The issue raised by Strang in her analysis of this particular case indicates that in considering the case of Takapuneke we will need to show not only the multiple layers of meaning that were constructed, but also how groups associated with the site negotiate their positions in a field of struggle. In the case of Takapuneke, we will see how the conversion of one kind of capital into another aids different group's abilities to negotiate the meaning of landscape.

Additionally, these constructed understandings or interpretations of landscapes can be controlled and used as a mode of repression and domination, especially in terms of enacting certain ways of experiencing a landscape (Hull 2008). This may alter the current common understanding of the landscape. Making a change to the meaning of the land is a type of 'spatial appropriation', or reproduction, that can reinscribe the land with alternative meanings (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). While this may not change the views held by subordinate groups, it may or may not limit their ability to enact their views and their corresponding practices. Struggle then occurs when one group tries to realize their ideas over another, and feels limited in doing so. Groups want to defend their imagined landscapes where they embed their memories and experiences (Tilley 2006:13). As

² This notion of using indigenous narrative about landscape is also reflected in the work of Dominy 1995 in her work with High Country Farmers in New Zealand.

we shall see in Chapter Six, the various non-Maori organization's aim to promote their historical narratives of Takapuneke over that of Onuku *Runanga's tapu* narrative can be viewed as a type of spatial appropriation that may limit how the site will be reproduced and what types of behaviors can be performed there (Hanson 2007).

One example of the kinds of issues relating to alternative histories of landscape and their reconstruction is McGregor's (2003) historical perspective on the landscape of Victoria Falls in the early 20th century. She shows how the imagination of the falls changed as tourism became a viable activity in the area. Before the colonial connection to the site, the local Leya people considered it a religious site tied to female authority. This reconstruction of the meaning of the site by colonial authority is an example of 'colonialism-in-action,' subsuming the local understanding within the alternate colonial meaning of Victoria Falls as 'scenery' and the local Lozi and Leya peoples taking the role of the 'generic exotic'. To understand the layered histories of the falls, McGregor looks at how landscape is connected to identity and memory in both the colonial and colonized perspectives, showing the complex interactions in which certain aspects of each group's imagination of the place gets emphasized or excluded.

As more tourists came to see the falls, the colonial view of the site and the people there became the dominant view. As the colonial authority was consolidated in the area, other British ideals were incorporated by the local peoples, such as the idea of chieftancy being male. The influence of the British ideals led the Leya peoples to focus on male leadership and to deemphasize the role of females in leadership and religious roles in connection with the falls. However, as years passed into the 1930s, one chief in particular, Mukuni, was able to assert his importance over others. Mukuni was able to exercise his agency to include his name on tourist maps, becoming known as the 'Monarch of the Victoria Falls' (McGregor 2003:737). His actions essentially reconstructed both his group's history and their place in the history of the falls to such an extent that even in the late 1990s a section of the falls area was renamed after him.

I find McGregor's inclusion of both the colonial and the colonized histories of Victoria Falls to be important in understanding the complex relationships that are constructed in terms of landscape. Rather than one narrative forcibly replacing another (even in the colonial context), we can see with

this example that there are multiple components of history that need to be considered. Different groups emphasize different aspects of their history in ways that allow for an almost cooperative construction of the landscape narrative. This, along with Strang's example above, provides a sense of negotiation rather than domination.

Even so, Appadurai (2003:338) argues that this type of (re)production at the local level can challenge the 'order and orderliness of the nation-state'. The creation of a stable imagination of a known place with shared, local values and history can act as a counter to the state's construction of a wider, national narrative. However, it is important to emphasize that the state's narrative is not unified or static. Different local institutions and communities may have their own version of the 'national story'. Furthermore, local institutions may determine how they will implement their version of a national narrative. For example, a local organization or community may link the 'national story' to the local narrative through certain events or individuals. Yet, this localized version may not be entirely synchronous with official ideals of those same events or individuals. Therefore, the state's construction of the landscape may be challenged by the multiple landscapes that can exist *within* the territorial boundaries of the state. As we will see in Chapter Three, while the events at Takapuneke are not debated, their possible positioning and value is under contention.

Though the concept of landscape can assist in comprehending how groups construct and negotiate their relationships with land and issues concerning it, such as its use and management, it only helps to explain some of topics relevant to Takapuneke. Despite the fact that it is a somewhat abstract notion, landscape offers avenues for discerning some of those topics, such as capital and how its conversion can lead to greater power in the field, as well as to questions concerning how the meaning and imagination of the landscape is reproduced.

Memory

To further assist in understanding the context of Takapuneke, it is also necessary to look at how memory plays a role. Bender and Winer (2001:4) state that though the past is rooted in landscape, people are selective in how they remember their past to ensure that it will comply with their current and future activities. Thus, memory becomes an important aspect of reproducing landscape and the relations of groups that are involved with controversial landscapes, such as Takapuneke.

It may be helpful here to think of landscape as an archive, as “recording the material after-traces both of the processes of its own formation and of the generations of human settlement with which its history is intertwined” (Maclean 2003:50). This archive is made up of memories and representations of those memories, such as photographs, films, writings, oral stories, etc. These and other materials act as repositories of memory (Forty 1999; Colwell-Chanthaphohn 2006). Each of those representations can bring up a host of memories; some of which may conflict (Stewart and Strathern 2003). Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003:22) argue that controlling memory in relation to places aids in determining how places are reproduced. As we will see in Chapter Three, each group has been engaged in constructing a narrative based on its relationship to Takapuneke in order to gain the ability to direct the site’s interpretation in society. While the non-Maori organizations choose to focus on the events that occurred at the site, Onuku *Runanga* is focused on the place itself, that is the actual land, as well as the events that occurred there.

Kuckler (1999:63) argues that modern industrial culture had been based on the attachment of memory to material objects, like land, making these objects into devices that help us to remember, or as she says ‘experience the forgotten’. Yet, there seems to be a looser connection between memory and objects as modern industrial society moves through time (ibid:55). Connerton (1989) asserts that societies in general have less emphasis on the connection of memory to material than do individuals. Forty (1992:2) concurs, stating that memory comes more from ‘embodied acts, rituals and normative social behavior’. Simply put, society acts on organized, reoccurring behaviors based on our previous experiences. It is these experiences and the enactment of them that produce communal history, rather than material items.

Kuchler (1999:59) agrees to a point, stating that our memories are becoming ‘unmoored and mobile’, leaving behind those material forms. She (ibid:53) says that as this change occurs, communities want to save those objects, places or landscapes from becoming ‘lost’. The urge is to save these objects of heritage, as their destruction seems to erase the ‘anchor points for remembrance’, making destruction akin to forgetting (ibid:53;Forty 1999:4). These heritage items become one basis of identity, from which a group may derive a desired future that is ‘envisioned in the image of the past’ (Kuchler 1999:60). Thus, if the items are ‘lost’, the community’s identity may become strained through the estrangement from their ‘lost’ past. We will see the importance of heritage and reserving land for historical purposes in the discussion of the roles of non-Maori organizations in Chapter Five, particularly in reference to ACT and HPT.

While we may be moving toward a separation of material from memory, modern industrial society has shown that remembering the past is still valued. It is not that we will stop remembering as that separation comes about, but rather we will remember from the absence of those materials that are lost (Kuchler 1999). Kuchler uses the Berlin Wall as one example of this process: individuals have pieces of the wall that act as a mnemonic device for memories concerning the Wall and a diverse array of connections it may have with any number of other topics and times. Yet, the wall itself is only a mental image. It has been 'lost'.

We must realize that 'lost' should not imply a passive or an unintentional action. Instead, 'lost' here can refer to the active behavior of erasure. This 'erasure' can be enacted through any number of means – ritual, burying, burning, disassembling, etc. In this regard the Berlin Wall began to be 'lost' through its very publicized dismemberment by the public, as they chipped away at it with sledge hammers on television. So, while the wall is absent in the present, it still remains a part of the identity of generations of people, not only in Berlin but around the world. It is not forgotten, the memory has simply become mobile (Kuchler 1999:64).

Kuchler's (1999) investigation of the creation and destruction of *malanggan* (magnificently carved or woven objects that temporarily cover graves in villages of New Ireland) shows how these objects act as modes of forgetting. The carving or weaving acts as a representation of the person's name and thus their genealogical ties to both the spiritual world and the carved images that are then passed on to relatives of the deceased who destroy the object. Those relatives who are able to get a piece of the *malanggan* upon its destruction will then become 'members of *malanggan*' (ibid:67). Being a 'member' means that the person now has the right to use the images of the *malanggan* and can carve *malanggan* for others that belong to the clan.

The *malanggan* is a memorial for the dead (acting as a house for the soul) that is said to 'die' as it is briefly revealed at the grave site and then quickly taken from the grave area and destroyed; the remains of the *malanggan* are carried off to be either burned (for females) or left to rot by the sea (for males), thereby returning to the earth and completing a cycle of 'eternal return' as the figure disintegrates (Kuchler 1999:57). As the figure is destroyed, the memory of the person becomes mobile, leaving no physical object to which it can be anchored, allowing the rights to the images to be passed on.

Even though Kuchler is writing in reference to Melanesian object production, in which the objects are created to be destroyed, her considerations can be applied to landscapes and places as well. Kuchler (1988) says that for us, the Melanesian art form of *malanggan* is just ‘art’ and produced through a creative form. Yet, she claims that we should not be looking at questions of art, but rather at these ‘objects as original and nonrecoverable things’ (ibid:628). Further: “This...requires us to rethink our assumptions about objects that, on account of being embedded in memory production, embody imagery of an apparently representational character”(ibid).

We can see very well how Kuchler’s ideas apply to the context of Takapuneke. Years after the massacre, the bones left in the bay were burned by Rhodes, performing an act of erasure. Instead of remaining, the bones became ash and thus moved from material remains to mobile memory. For Rhodes and those after him in the Pakeha community, that act of erasure was final, leaving the land open for development and use. We will see in Chapter Six that the Onuku community did not see the burning of the remains as an act of erasure, but rather as an act of transformation which added to the *tapu* of the entire site and recreated it as a cultural ‘object’. Now that CCC has stepped in to protect the area, Takapuneke is becoming recognized on a broader scale as a cultural ‘object.’ I will show in Chapter Three how the groups involved with Takapuneke are negotiating with each other for positions in relation to it.

Property

How cultural ‘objects’ like land are reckoned as ‘property’ can be a complicating factor. Ownership and reckoning of property has a long and complicated history in New Zealand due to the colonial context. Maori have fought to maintain a presence on their lands since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Having lost most of their land in the period 1840-1960, various Maori groups throughout New Zealand have gone through a bureaucratic process such as the Waitangi Tribunal established by the state to validate their claims for restoration of their land. In the process, many of these groups have taken on the necessary bureaucratic language and modes of social action that allow them to work with state institutions in order to settle those claims. This can be seen most poignantly in the incorporation of various Maori entities into the corporate entities required by law in order to receive the benefits of successful claims (Poata-Smith 2004). While debating the many issues that have been investigated concerning Maori involvement with the colonial system over land is out of

the scope of this thesis, I would like to mention several points that seem most relevant to this study, since the Takapuneke case involves, in one important sense, a dispute over land as ‘property’.

By property, I would like to follow Humphrey and Verdery’s (2004:20) definition: ‘sets of relations’ surrounding an ‘object’. This definition is purposely vague, they note, because to modify it further is to place the concept in specific historic contexts (ibid). This definition allows the concept to be applied in diverse contexts and permits the ‘object’ in question to be problematized. Further, Strathern and Hirsch (2004:1) contend that the ‘object’ in question can be whatever is culturally important, as it is often tied to the idea of distinctiveness and identity. As such, there is often struggle over these ‘objects’, which implies rival interests to cultural objects, requiring defense by some and negotiation by others. They note that the problem is not so much the cultural borrowing that often results from struggles, but the fact that one group often feels that something is being taken away from their collective cultural self (ibid).

Moreover, what then becomes important is how the concept of property works: how is it used, who uses it, for what purposes and to what effect(s) (Strathern and Hirsch 2004:2; Kaplan 2007) . Verdery and Humphrey (2004:3) claim that Western uses and understandings of property have been diverse, covering themes from economy and civil government to morality and gender. Basically, property is the basis for private ownership, which is: “a means to regulate access to scarce resources by assigning persons rights in them relative to other persons” (ibid:3). Thus, the cultural imaginary here is that land is ‘property’. The presumption is that whomever ‘owns’ the land, then has control over it and thus over its meaning as well. Yet, Verdery and Humphrey (2004:209) remind us that it isn’t necessarily the material aspect of the land that is important, but rather the information that the land implies or imparts about the group. Hence, making claims to land equates to a claim for recognition and ownership (Rowlands 2004:209).

Strathern (2004:40) argues that to make such a assertion, one has to be recognized by others as able to make a claim. In order to show that you are legitimate, she states that a claimant must perform the role of owner by recognizing the value of the object owned and objectifying it through observation and narrative – in a sense, creating the object and its value. As well, Strang and Busse (2008) contend that those making claims for recognition must express their agency in reference to the claim by participating in social processes. In this way, they reify the object’s value within society as well as solidifying their own relation to it. These claims to ownership become

instrumental to us, allowing us to categorize relations with others in reference to that which is being 'owned' (Strathern 2004:42). As we will see below, Bourdieu (1998) makes similar claims about how capital is created and how it becomes the focus of struggle, allowing agents to recognize both the resources that are valuable as well as their relations to others in the field.

The concept of heritage has become a focal point as a way to make claims for recognition, but also what Rowlands (2004:211) calls 'cultural property', which can be defined as both objects and intangible heritage that have cultural value. Rowlands (ibid:212) argues that this view makes heritage a matter for local interpretation due to intrinsic qualities rather than based on universal value. Claiming those intrinsic qualities implies a claim of rights to the 'object' or 'property'. Strang (2000:278) prompts us to be careful with 'objects' and the claims around them, because any group will first interpret the 'object' according to its own culture. Once objects have been interpreted, then they can be appropriated and reconstructed to fit any particular history or narrative.

Both Rowlands and Strang's points here are instructive for the context of Takapuneke. In Chapter Four we will see that Onuku *Runanga* is not attempting to 'own' any part of the site as private property, but that they are making a claim for recognition as owners and protection of the site based on the intrinsic quality of *tapu*. In addition, now that Takapuneke has become recognized as a 'cultural object' or 'cultural property,' there are attempts by the non-Maori organizations to shift the recollection of the area toward its historical qualities in order to make a larger claim about the importance of the area to the creation of the nation. In Chapter Five we shall see the benefits of constructing those historical narratives.

Additionally, Brown (2005:53) has argued that one purpose of heritage protection is to assist minority communities to protect and encourage their histories and identities, enabling these to be viewed as being equal to those found in the rest of society. Further, he (2004:197) asserts that heritage is about belief in a certain past and how a specific group identifies with that past. However, Tilley (2006:14) points out that those sorts of histories usually represent a romanticized version of an identity that is shown as remaining constant through time, instead of being affected by change. Rowlands (2004:220) adds that the claim of a certain past, even if romanticised, raises questions of power. For example, silencing alternative forms of history within the state in the past was straightforward, using methods of oppressive assimilation and violence. Today, in most states those methods have given away to alternative forms of incorporating the various histories encoded within

the state's space. One of these forms of incorporation is by encouraging indigenous cultural concepts (ibid). For the Takapuneke case, as well as *wahi tapu* sites in general, this can be seen in the creation of HPT's Register and its inclusion of the category of *wahi tapu* in its framework. We can also see this in the use of the term *wahi tapu* by the non-Maori organizations involved with Takapuneke. I will discuss the importance of ideas of ownership to the concept of *tapu* and guardianship in Chapter Four and the incorporation of *wahi tapu* in detail in Chapter Five.

To summarize, as with landscape, ideas about and claims to 'property' and 'ownership' are processual. As Demian (2004:65) says: anything can be imagined as ownable. These claims do not end when a group declares its 'possession' of an 'object'. Instead, making the claim is the beginning to the continual process of proving ownership through behavior and social action. In a way, this view of ownership is akin to Maori pre-colonial forms of ownership: as long as a group can make a claim and hold their ground against others, then it is valid. This of course becomes problematic when multiple groups are making differing claims to the same object, bringing questions of power and position to bear. To better understand the positioning between Onuku *Runanga* and the other organizations on these issues surrounding Takapuneke, it will be helpful to understand the concept of the state.

The State

Hansen and Stepputat (2001:6) define the modern state as the 'legitimate representation of the will and interests of its citizens'. Moreover, they argue that the concentration of authority in the concept of the state develops through three symbolic avenues (ibid:7). The first of these is the creation of law and legal discourse. Law is the standard avenue through which the action of the state is supposed to take place and the relationship between the state and others (individuals, organizations, or other states) is regulated. This is the basis of its power as mediated through its institutions. The second symbolic avenue consists of the material elements of that state that allows it to be visible, such as buildings, signs, letterheads, uniforms, publications, etc (ibid). These materials infer the unity of the state and the extent to which it encompasses the citizenry. While not simply symbolic, these materials infer the concept of the state, while actually representing only one or more of the bureaucratic institutions that do the work of the state. Third, by creating a national history of the institutions, landscape and the generalized cultural practices of the nation, the state emphasizes the shared community of the individuals within it. Thus, the appearance of uniformity is constructed to make society, as well as the state, appear unified (ibid).

Generally speaking, citizens read the same or similar newspapers, hear the same or similar radio or television programs, and are taught the same elementary education from standardized textbooks. They also abide by the law (or not, and then are punished by the publicly recognized authority) and recognize the visible symbols of the state. There may have been a significant differences in how rural versus urban populations received or transmitted information, used transportation and communicated prior to the mid-20th century. However, this tends to no longer be the case, nor is the distinction between rural and urban still valid in an industrialized country like New Zealand (Zenner 2002). While the intricacies of urban anthropological theory and discussions of demographics are beyond the scope of this dissertation, urban anthropologists like Zenner (2002) and Leeds (1994) have both proposed that modern commerce, mobility and communications have spread urbanism to all corners of industrialized counties. What was once particular to urban areas can now be found everywhere – shopping, internet access, entertainment, transportation, reliable postal services, etc. These services and processes are pushed even into remote areas through the likes of tourism, which is a major component of New Zealand commerce (Zenner 2002).

This does not mean that location is not important. As was discussed above in relation to landscape, identity is closely tied to locale. However, now many individuals have more options for purposes of identity besides those directly concerning place. Leeds (1994) relates this same notion to ideas of the state, writing that supralocal institutions like bureaucratic institutions have flexible relations with each location in which they function. Individuals in those locations have various capacities in which they can operate depending on how much or what kind of power and institutional relationships occur between the locality and supralocal agency (Leeds 1994:217). Supralocal agencies can not possibly have full effective control in every location, allowing for some movement in the relationships that can result in different ways of reckoning power. Localities, according to Leeds, can be seen as the center of specific kinds of power depending on their historical details and interactions with other localities and supralocal agencies.

This is not to say that all citizens take advantage or are able to take advantage of these programs, opportunities or legal relationships. Rowlands (2004:220) states that minorities may be disenfranchised in other ways, such as being excluded from a collective past as promoted by the state. In order to accept some of those various histories within the collective history, the state then has to promote certain groups or cultural forms as positive. For example, the recent recognition of

the events at Takapuneke as a bicultural connection between Maori and Pakeha, and the local events to the creation of the nation, illustrates the attempt of bureaucratic institutions to promote the Maori contribution to the history of the nation.

Sieder (2001) offers an example of how imagining the state in post-war Guatemala is subject to change and negotiation and of how the position of indigeneous people within this imagination may alter over time. Through decades of struggle, Guatemala has undergone major shifts in what it means to be a citizen and how those citizens imagine the state and their place in it. Due to the weakness of the Guatemalan state, its reproduction has been in question, leaving indigenous peoples as a focus of human rights abuses by some institutions within the government and by other citizens. To understand the transitional nature of citizenship, Sieder views the concept of citizenship as a historically contingent position that is subject to a process of negotiation between the citizens and the state (ibid:204). In 1995, the nature of citizenship in Guatemala moved toward the possibility of greater inclusion as the state ratified indigeneous rights and identity in a new form of citizenship. Yet, because of resistance by non-indigenous groups and the general inability of the government to substantiate any change toward more inclusive rights, stronger indigeneous rights have not been realized.

The point of Sieder's work here is that even if indigeneous rights do not actively become realized, the fact that it has been recognized has changed the imagination of the state by its citizens, allowing for alternative histories and narratives to emerge. Even though the non-indigeneous sectors of Guatemalan society were not ready for a multicultural government that would have allowed for indigeneous histories and practices to be included in the official state history, the nature of society and citizenship has begun to shift. One particular example of this shift can be seen in conflict resolution. Sieder (2001:218; Ellison 2009) notes that the law has been shown to be inefficient and both indigenous and non-indigenous people have discovered extra-legal forms of conflict resolution that allow for satisfactory outcomes for all types of disputes. Though the circumstances in New Zealand are not as dire as those in Guatemala, we can see Sieder's case as an example of indigeneous peoples being disenfranchized but also as gaining power and agency in the face of shifting circumstances. Onuku *Runanga* has been trying to gain recognition for Takapuneke for decades and by doing so has been able to gain a significant amount of agency. As we will see in Chapter Three, Onuku *Runanga's* agency is such that they are now a major component in the negotiations concerning Takapuneke.

Sieder (2001:218) points out that the conditions in Guatemala could lead to a new form of governmentality there. The notion of governmentality is of some importance in allowing us to grasp the history of conflict and negotiation in Takapuneke's case. Foucault (2006:142) explains governmentality as the result of a long process of the state assembling institutions into a complex system of bureaucratic power that reaches out into virtually all corners of society. These bureaucratic institutions then become the interface through which citizens interact with the state. Their duties are set up as laws that give them authority to put those duties into practice in a sustainable manner (Weber 2006:49). Weber (ibid; Cody 2009) says that management of these institutions is based on documentation. The various forms of documentation of the institution and its actions then acts as a basis of its authority, in a sense producing the institution's authority as it goes through its daily routine.

Bourdieu (1994:11) furthers this idea, arguing that if an organization is recognized by the state then that recognition (or documentation) has value for other institutions or organizations within the state, allowing those groups to accept it as legitimate. However, this becomes a rather self-perpetuating cycle which also perpetuates the imagination of the state (ibid:12). As Bourdieu (ibid:13) puts it: "In our societies, the state makes a decisive contribution to the production and reproduction of the instruments of construction of social reality." For instance, an agency certifies a policy or organization to fill a position. That agency has obtained its ability to certify that policy or organization by another bureaucratic institution, which has itself received its nominating authority from yet another agency within the bureaucracy. This type of (re)production is continuous within the bureaucracy. We will see that the issues around Takapuneke have led to Onuku *Runanga* being recognized as a legitimate agent that has become acknowledged by the non-Maori organizations that already have varying levels of power.

Even so, as long as the bureaucracy works in a relatively stable manner, the citizens will follow the laws and dictates of the bureaucracy (Foucault 2006:137; Bourdieu 1994:14). Landzelius (2003:204) calls this vision of society that is accepted by its citizens as legitimate, the 'social imaginary'. This imaginary of society acts as a base from which groups can make claims to legitimacy and power according to their interests. The state tries to ensure some measure of compliance to the imaginary through its bureaucratic institutions by defining and redefining what lies within their purview. Because of this shifting of interests, the state is able to survive through time (Foucault 2006:143).

According to Bourdieu (1994:4) these interests and the reproduction of the state are focused on building, investing and converting capital, with the aim of consolidating and maintaining its power. We therefore have to consider the notion of capital in Bourdieu's sense of the word, because it is an important analytical tool that will allow us to further our understanding of the nature of the struggle over land at Takapuneke and the ways in which governmentality have operated there.

Capital

Capital is part of Bourdieu's broader theories on symbolic power and represents a resource that has value to a group or a number of groups (Bourdieu 1998:41). By using the term 'symbolic', Bourdieu (1977) is attempting to account for non-material interests, strategies and actions. Following Weber, he argues that all actions are based on 'interest' and lead to some form of material or symbolic profit. Here 'interest' is glossed as whatever motivates an agent(s) to action (Bourdieu 1977). To maximize their profit, agents use strategies that are based on their cultural traditions and habits. These strategies are not necessarily conscious decisions, nor are they mechanical responses; they are reactions based on interest. In order to enact these strategies, agents take advantage of resources available to them to maintain or augment their social standing. Those resources are their capital.

Before I explain more specifically how the theoretical model of capital will be applied in this study, I would like to address the charge of economism, which continues to be the most common criticism of Bourdieu's theorization of capital. Because the terms 'capital' and 'interest' have long Marxian histories, it is sometimes difficult to separate that specific utilitarian/materialist use from the term as opposed to how it is used by Bourdieu. There have been numerous critiques of Bourdieu as being economically deterministic (Gartman 1991, Honneth 1986, Jenkins 1992, Joppke 1986, Miller and Banson 1987, Caille 1992). These arguments generally make the point that Bourdieu's theory reduces agents to following only their material interests.

Bourdieu's answer to this criticism is that economists use terms like 'interest' or 'capital' in a limited fashion in order to emphasize a single focus – that of material self-interest (Bourdieu 1990, Jenkins 2002). While Bourdieu admits that material needs are obviously important, he contends that there are many types of interests and values, with material self-interest being only one type. In fact, he argues that there are as many different kinds of interests as there are valued resources or capital.

Bourdieu purposely uses these terms to confront issues he has with Marxist interpretations, especially the idea that behavior can be reduced simply to mechanical causes (Swartz 1997). By using these terms to analyze both material and symbolic actions, Bourdieu is attempting to focus attention on the advantages of non-material actions and their extension to different forms of power. Bourdieu (1992:119) states: “To reduce the universe of forms of conduct to mechanical reaction or purposive action is to make it impossible to shed light on all those practices that are *reasonable* without being the product of a reasoned purpose”. Again, following Weber, this extension of value to a broad range of actions (social, cultural, political, religious, etc) goes beyond the Marxian understanding of capital and disassociates it with the ‘dynamic of primitive accumulation’ that accompanies it (Swartz 1997). Beyond this, and as will be discussed below, Bourdieu wants to discover under which conditions certain types of capital can be converted into other types, allowing groups to shift their uses of power based on their interests depending on the context.

One of Bourdieu’s critics, Richard Jenkins (2002), points out that Bourdieu’s explanations do not exactly clear up the criticisms that are made against his general theories, including that of capital. However, Jenkins notes that this is part of Bourdieu’s theorization of the issues of behavior. The fact that Bourdieu’s understanding is not exactly clear simply reflects the complexities of “a natural world with cultural people in it...the vagueness is as much a part of the social processes and situations which Bourdieu is attempting to understand as it is part of his argument” (Jenkins 2002:38). Due to this inherent vagueness and complexity, it is best to view and use Bourdieu’s theory simply as an analytic tool or model to help us understand how values are being transformed within society. When integrated with Bourdieu’s other theoretical constructs of habitus and field (as Bourdieu meant when conceptualizing his theoretical model and as will be discussed below), capital acts as a unifying way to think about how value and power relate and transform over time. Also, as we will see in Chapters Four and Five, the process of constructing and legitimating Takapuneke’s value was under way at the time of the study. Bourdieu’s model allows us to see how such meanings and values become known and legitimized. Because his theory deals directly with struggles over value and issues of power, it seems to be the most apt tool to analyze this case study.

To make the general concept of capital more manageable, Bourdieu (1986:47) breaks it down into resources such as economic (income, wealth), cultural (cultural goods, educational certificates, knowledge), social (connections and relationships) and symbolic capital (the form each capital takes once it is recognized or perceived as legitimate within society (Skeggs 1997:8)). How each of these

is specifically defined is different in each context. Bourdieu (1998:15) argues that it is this process of defining capital and the ability to maintain access to it that gives a group power in the field. The power or influence comes from the capital being recognized and agreed upon as being valuable by the totality of groups in the field (ibid:32). Chapter Three will show how Takapuneke has been agreed upon over time as being culturally significant and thus, through that process, has gained significant cultural value.

Moreover, Bourdieu (1998:15) asserts that once capital is recognized then social space is organized according to three principles: weight, structure and change. The weight of capital refers to the volume of different species of capital each agent maintains. The structure of capital pertains to the importance of each of those species of capital in the society. Agents are then distributed within the social space depending on the types of capital they have and the weight and structure of each. The third principle is the change of the weight and structure of capital over time. As conditions change within society, the types of capital that are more valued may shift. This can lead to temporary stabilizations in the struggle around the newly valued resource, but as conditions change the field may become unstable once again and thus the struggle can be renewed. For Takapuneke, we can see this agreement over the value of capital developing over time as a process. The process here is of Takapuneke slowly becoming recognized as a site of some significance, although in slightly different ways. Yet, these points of recognition are not exclusive of one another, as we will see in Chapter Three.

Bourdieu (1994: 4) says that the state focuses on four types of capital: physical force or ‘instruments of coercion (army, police)’, economic capital (taxes, regulations, etc), informational capital (standardized curricula, validation of knowledge, etc), and symbolic capital (legal discourse, validation, categorization, etc). These four species of capital give the state ‘(meta)authority’, meaning that it has the authority to validate or invalidate other forms of authority and thus have the ‘last word’ in its territory on all actions and events (ibid; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:114). Also, the group that has the (meta)authority can assert its interests in power (in whatever form) over other groups and has the ability to define capital (Bourdieu 1998:42). This ability to define capital further allows the state to be flexible in shifting its strategies so as to ensure its reproduction and thus its survival through time. Symbolic capital encapsulates this type of authority in that it represents those resources that are accepted as having legitimate value by society.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Hansen and Stepputat 2001) argues that defining capital is also an important part of the process of cultural (re)production. The state is in a constant process of reproducing itself in order to make it seem consistent over time. This consistency lends itself to the state's ability to maintain its power and legitimacy. So, as the state amasses capital it is able to set up structures such as education systems and political systems that reinforce its ideals. Reinforcing these ideals helps to solidify its place of dominance within the boundaries of the state across generations. As long as it is able to maintain and assert its legitimacy, the state will stay in that position.

The state enacts this legitimacy mostly through its everyday practices of 'authorization and recognition' (Hansen and Stepputat 2001:21; Sharma and Gupta 2006). This is the process of recording life changes such as birth and death, but also by recognizing marriages, legitimate authorities, organizations, and institutions. In the case of recognizing these various forms, the state is also *authorizing* them as legitimate and thereby reasserting its own power to do so. At the same time, by showing up and taking part in these practices, i.e. renewing annual paperwork or licenses, buying postage, filing taxes, citizens show that they recognize and accept the state's authority, at least to the extent in which they are using it.

The state's population learn these actions by doing them – engaging with various forms of media that inform us of government and bureaucratic events, relating our experiences of our interactions with each other, and taking part in state rituals. Sharma and Gupta (2006:18) assert: "It is in the realm of representation that explicit discourse of the state is produced. Public cultural representation and performance of statehood crucially shape people's perceptions about the nature of the state". Again, it is through these actions and experiences that citizens then reckon the state as a unified structure. Onuku *Runanga* has shown that it recognizes the authority of the state, first in the guise of the BPDC and then CCC, by building relationships with those councils and attempting to work with them for the protection of Takapuneke. At the same time, the *Runanga* has also built relationships with HPT and ACT in order to create support for their endeavors with sympathetic groups and as recognition that power is dispersed throughout a number of bureaucratic and civic institutions.

Foucault (2006:142) asserts that the state is not unified, instead, it is a 'mythologized abstraction'. While it is the construction of the state as a unified structure that gives it a place of importance in

society, lending it a time-worn authority and a history, this is the hegemonic history that the population has been taught (Hansen and Stepputat 2001:14). Additionally, Bourdieu (1994:2) states that the unity of the state is ‘easy to think’ when its agents wear uniforms, similar name tags and perform behaviors that seem to promote the unified construction of the state through the mundane activities by which citizens interact with it. Hansen and Stepputat (2001) argue that while this allows for a ‘fetishization’ of the state to occur through these practices and practical means, it also allows for the state to become successful as the leading authority, as long as the population enacts these practices and recognizes these types of symbols of the state in their everyday lives. Further, unity is also upheld every time we discuss the state as a holistic entity.

As we can see, the unification of the state seems deftly apparent in the population’s everyday lives. It is everywhere we go and everything we think (Bourdieu 1994:1). Even so, the complex web of bureaucratic institutions illustrates the limit of the state’s importance by revealing that the state is not the holder of megalithic, dominant power, but rather is made up of a plethora of individuals and organizations (Sharma and Gupta 2006:25). However, at times, these various organizations seem to be working in concert toward common objectives, adding another view that seems to support the unified ideal of the state. Yet, we have to remember that each of these organizations is working in its own interest toward its mandated objectives. As the Strang example of the River management groups noted above shows us, organizations tend to align themselves with others for certain ends. While this may give the illusion that the aligned groups are bonded into one, that is not necessarily the case.

Rather than Onuku *Runanga* negotiating with an idealized, unified state, Foucault, Bourdieu and others have shown us that each non-Maori organization will have its own interests which motivate them to act for their own benefit based on the capital at stake. These interests are approved by the state, as each bureaucratic organization operates within the constraints of the legislation and policy framework under which they are established. For the case of Takapuneke, the result is that Onuku *Runanga* and the three other organizations involved have had to build relationships with each other, which are based on each group’s agency and the weight and structure of their capital. Yet, as the weight and structure of the capital of Takapuneke evolves, so to do the relationships between the groups. In Chapter Five we will see how those relationships have been built and how they have changed over time.

However, how the unity of the state is split between organizations becomes an effect of power (Sharma and Gupta 2006). Hansen and Stepputat (2001:18) contend:

As much as the Law as a concept depends on the state's mythical qualities, the practices of solemnly encoding certain rights in constitutions, of entrenching and interpretation these rights in judicial practices and invoking them in political rhetoric also hinges on the efficiency of the imagination of the state as a guarantor of these rights. If that imagination is effective, the discourse of rights is inconsequential.

Not only does the state have to remain a stable entity with a policy that is consistent with a set of greater goals to which it has educated the public, but those rights and their application through law have to be applicable to the population. People have to be able to 'use the state' to accept the hegemony under which they choose to live. Furthermore, as we deconstruct the state into its everyday practices of bureaucracy, we can perceive the role of the individual in constructing the state, while getting a deeper sense of the dissemination of the state's power (ibid:9).

Hansen and Stepputat (2001:22) state that while we can see that the state is decentralized, we can also see that the public is becoming more governmentalized. Basically, as the population interacts with bureaucratic institutions, they learn to interact at multiple levels with a diverse array of institutions representing the state. They, as individuals, are also learning how to use those interactions to their own maximum benefit. Not only are state institutions flexible in their arrangement, but also so is the position of 'citizen' (Sieder 2001:203). This is a way for citizens to enact some agency. Onuku *Runanga* has taken advantage of their new positioning in society that has, in part, been a result of the increased cognizance given to Maori history and culture since the 1970s. This new position of Maori is part of the changing governmentality within the nation and has assisted the *Runanga* in gaining power.

Veronica Strang (2006:281) noted this type of action in the various Aboriginal groups with which she has worked in Australia. In particular, she states that these groups were aware of European ideas of land and how important accuracy in mapping was to them. So, in turn, when the Aboriginal groups drew up their own maps, they were careful to be precise in marking landscape features. This example points to the governmentality of the people, allowing them to produce acceptable interactions with the state by emulating those in political power to whom precise mapping is important. On the other hand, by placing their own landscape features on the map to show their view of the important points in the region, these Aboriginal groups are able to enact some agency and gain some capital through performing a slightly altered version of the 'legitimate national

culture' in a context in which the Aboriginal voice is valued and Aboriginal custom and history is recognized as important.

However, this is not an easy process. Subordinate groups struggle to assert their values so they can build their own authority with the aim of reproducing their own cultures, either within or along side the 'legitimate national culture' (Bourdieu 1994). However they choose to constitute their own cultural ideals, it has to be done in some form of cooperation with parts of the state structure because each group within the state is part of the nation. This allows us to see interaction between some groups and the state not as resistance but rather as alternative forms of constructing agency (Yang 2005:507). We shall see how Onuku *Runanga* has constructed its alternate form of agency in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five we will see the non-Maori organizational response to it.

As illustrated in Strang's work noted above, an understanding of how indigenous peoples interact with the state and the role that negotiation plays in the valuation and investment of capital is essential for a consideration of questions of land and resources in modern indigenous contexts. Another illuminating case is Yang's (2005) study of the Bunan of Taiwan, where she offers a good example of using compliance with the state as a form of agency building. The Bunan, an indigenous group in the hills of central Taiwan, view the state as a provider with which they have to negotiate in order to access its resources (ibid:492). They use two main methods to interact with the state: writing to officials and meeting with officials. Meeting with officials is the preferred mode of interaction as this allows for personal negotiation to take place.

The emphasis here is on the personal relationship a person may build with a particular official. It is better to eat, drink and socialize with the official when they come to a village, instead of writing a letter that is sent off to the administrative center (Yang 2005). The Bunan understand this as a manner of respect in which they are sharing what they have in order to finalize terms of negotiation. Though there are times of protest by neighboring groups, according to Yang, most Bunan see this as the worst way of dealing with officials, as it is disruptive and shows a group to have improper communication skills. For the Bunan, resistance works against the weak. Thus negotiation from a point of strength, such as sharing, is the far better path to getting resources. The Chinese officials that interact with the Bunan see this as beneficial as well, because it allows for ease of rule (ibid:490).

Even though the Bunan are seen as compliant to the state by bureaucratic institutions, Yang (2005:490) argues that this should not be understood as ‘passive acceptance of state power.’ The Bunan show that it is not simply a choice between power and resistance, which she deems as romanticized and vague³, but that there is an alternative way through which they can exercise agency – through active compliance (Yang 2005:508). ‘Active compliance’ is partial compliance with the state that allows the Bunan to exercise their agency in order to get some of what they require.

Bourdieu (1998:42) explains how these conflicts and challenges, either through resistance or other means such as active compliance, are positioned in what he calls a ‘field’. Bourdieu sees a field as a system of social positions where actions and practices take place over specific resources (capital), including access to them. These positions, each represented by a different group, stand in reference to one another depending on each group’s ability to access the capital at stake in that specific field (ibid).

A group’s ability to access the available resources on a field is affected by their habitus. Although, criticised as deterministic, Bourdieu asserts that agents are only *influenced* by their habitus (Bourdieu 1998; Swartz 1997, Jenkins 2002). Agents are not acting mechanically due to their societal, economic or political conditions, but neither are they fully rational actors (Bourdieu 1998:viii). Instead, habitus is a “system of cognitive and motivating structures” (Bourdieu 1990: 53), acting as the basis for how people behave and how they perceive the world. People are born into specific positions within a social system. They absorb categories suitable to their position first through the family and then through social institutions like school, influencing their actions and inclining them to act in ways that will reproduce their position (Bourdieu 1990: 54). So, habitus is a range of possible actions open to the individual given their position with the social structure. This range of actions is mediated by past experience, allowing agents to disregard improbable actions and pursuing ones that are likely to be successful according to their interests (Bourdieu 1990:54). Moreover, because a range of possibilities is available, no agent is determined to choose one action over another. Indeed, as conditions of the social structure transform, so does the range of possible actions available to the agent, leading to new opportunities for change.

³ Yang points out that while resistance is still a highly valued theoretical theme, there have been arguments against it by Abu-Lughod 1990; Brown 1996; Cooper 1994; Das and Poole 2004b; Kaplan and Kelly 1994; Mitchell 1990; Navarro-Yashin 2002; O’Hanlon 1988; Ortner 1995

Conflict and struggle occur as groups attempt to improve their positions in relation to others in the field by gaining more capital, according to their available range of actions. Struggle can threaten or weaken the current legitimate authority's position (Bourdieu 1994:15). Success in such endeavours can eventually result in the ability to define the capital that is being sought. It is the capacity to monopolize the ability to define, and therefore legitimize, capital that is the end game of the struggle.

Bourdieu (1998:42) explains that the field itself is defined by the resources at stake, for example, education, economics, politics, prestige, or land. The groups struggling in the field create belief in the legitimacy and value of the capital. The stronger positions (those groups with more capital and authority) in the field always try to impose themselves on the weaker (those groups with less capital and authority) (Ingold 2000:149). Fields are sites of domination, social reproduction and, in rare instances, of social transformation (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:102). Struggle extends to include the boundaries of fields, which are often objects of struggle themselves.

Bourdieu considers three types of strategies used by groups in conflicts to be important (Swartz 1997:125). First, those in the dominant position use 'conservation'. This consists of practices that help to *conserve* that position. Second, those trying to gain power use 'succession', which involves practices that help a group to gain their own power by using the dominant group's rules in the field. Third, groups challenging the dominant group use 'subversion'. These are practices that directly challenge the dominant group's legitimacy through the use of alternative modes of defining capital within a field.

Challenges within a field are a coordinated effort to some extent. Each side using one of the above strategies has to agree that the resources they are struggling over have some value. This does not necessarily have to be the same value, but it does have to be recognized that the resource(s) have enough of some kind of value to make it worth fighting over. Entering the field means that the group has accepted, and thereby legitimated, the forms of struggle available on the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:98). Further, entering the field also legitimizes your opponent in the struggle, whether that is the state, an institution within the state or an indigenous group (Hansen and Stepputat 2001:9). The struggle simply could not occur if one side was left unacknowledged.

Existing state affiliated institutions and organizations have the ability to define opposition by allowing some forms of confrontation and rejecting others. The modes of opposition that are available for the most part are predictable and accepted as ‘opposition’ by those in authority. Nandy (1983:3) calls this ‘managed dissent’. What this implies is that people may resist without fear of sanction, not the formal arms of government including law, but also this more subtle desire of the state to get its citizens to conform. This allows room for agency in that people might indeed choose to adopt the state’s ideals and mould their own communities and activities accordingly, while others may not.

In addition, different groups have differing forms of access to various state institutions. Das and Poole (2004:12) state that it is not the case that there are subsets of society that are simply excluded, while all others have access. There is a range of relationships at any given time and thus a range of challenges. Yet, this range of relationships may not be recognizable to some within society, particularly members of the culturally dominant group(s). This may also affect how some in the more culturally dominant group may understand any concessions given to any of these ‘other’ groups – they may see it as certain minority groups getting ‘special privilege/access’ or simply ‘more than they deserve’.

Therefore, I will show in the case of Takapuneke that challenges in some forms are actually challenges against certain agencies that deal in a specific type of capital that is represented in a policy or law maintained by that agency. The state itself is only challenged in terms of war or revolution, when a group is challenging not only the various institutions or organizations that make up the imagined state but also the idea of the ‘legitimate national culture’ itself. On the other hand, most challenges to the state can also be in a much more mundane form such as individual households not participating in the census (perhaps because they do not see any benefit for them) or even by bureaucrats themselves by not fulfilling their duties correctly or ‘warring’ against another agency in order to get or maintain influence over capital (Sharma and Gupta 2006:15; Fuller and Harriss 2000:3).

For instance, Onuku *Runanga* is not challenging the idea of the state within New Zealand, nor has it been challenging the authority or structure of BPDC. But Onuku *Runanga* has been challenging the District Council on the use and future of the site of Takapuneke. Here the challenge was a struggle

over the definition of Takapuneke as economic capital by BPDC and as cultural capital by Onuku *Runanga*. As the local authority shifted to CCC, the argument for regarding the entire site as primarily economic capital dissolved and there was an agreement that the area should be viewed primarily in terms of cultural capital. However, this is the result of a process of struggle over time, and how precisely that cultural capital is being defined is now the struggle – will Takapuneke maintain the local value or will it take on a new larger-scale value?

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the way that groups imagine their landscape, the state, and how they are situated within both of those concepts. Bourdieu's theorization of capital acts as a unifying concept in showing how the values that groups place on their positions and understandings of the landscape and the state become known and legitimized. Yet, as social, political, economic or cultural conditions change those values can be altered, affecting how groups (re)construct their landscape and react to their positions in relation to the non-Maori organizations that are participating in the struggle. In the remainder of the thesis, I will show how groups construct different narratives for different results according to changes in the struggle over Takapuneke. The groups are all attempting to fulfil Bourdieu's notion of defining the capital at stake in the field and reproducing the group's position in relation to that capital. How groups associated with Takapuneke define it in the end will allow us to see what possible value the site will have for local and national histories in New Zealand.

Chapter Three

Takapuneke and The Colonial Context in New Zealand

There are two intertwined and corresponding historical narratives in which Takapuneke takes part. Onuku *Runanga*'s narrative covers the greater span of time from the creation of the South Island, Te Waipounamu, through to today. The narratives promoted by local civic and state organizations start with the massacre at Takapuneke and continue from that point. The division between the two arises from the emphasis that each group puts on certain events within their respective narratives. These events have been used by the relevant parties to promote their interests through emphasizing a particular view of the past, and thus to accumulate capital. As an event or a particular view of an event becomes accepted as valid by other institutions or the public, then it is legitimated as culturally or historically significant.

For Onuku *Runanga*, the focus is on the site as a source of cultural value based on the concept of *tapu*. For this reason, Onuku *Runanga* believes that the site should remain undeveloped. The bureaucratic institutions involved with Takapuneke also try to build cultural value through portraying the history of the site in a slightly different way, emphasizing its historical importance and its ties to the creation of the nation of New Zealand. In the following discussion of the different narratives involving Takapuneke, we will see where the points of interest are focused and how that emphasis changes the character of the narratives.

Takapuneke and Onuku on Banks Peninsula

The history of Ngai Tahu on Banks Peninsula and at Takapuneke illustrates why Maori on the Peninsula were unable to defend themselves against Te Rauparaha in the 1830s and colonial settlers in the 1850s. This history also demonstrates Ngai Tahu's experiences with the settlers and the Crown in respect to land. In Chapter Two, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003), Stewart and Strathern (2003) and others defined landscape as a repository of a group's experiences, allowing it to take on social meaning and influence identity. The following history is the Onuku community's construction of their landscape since their arrival in the area. As this history starts with the creation of the South Island, Ngai Tahu, including the Onuku community, is able to construct its identity as indigenous based on that foundation. Though the political and social context within the nation have changed over time, this construction of indigenous identity based on their creation mythology has

not. However, it has been bolstered by more recent events since the arrival of settlers, as described below.

According to Ngai Tahu mythology, their ancestral ties to the land start with Rakaihautu, who captained the *waka* (ocean-going canoe) Uruao from Hawaiki to New Zealand. He landed at Whakatu (near present day Nelson) came down the length of the South Island, digging all the lakes as he travelled. When he came to Akaroa he planted his digging stick, Tuhiraki, which then became the mountain of the same name, also known as Mt Bossu, across the bay from Akaroa (Mikaere 1998:36).

Around 1700 Ngai Tahu built a strongly defended trading *pa* (fortified village) at Kaiapoi (see Figure 3.1 below). This *pa* was built at a central point in the South Island between the east (Horomaka – sea food and forest products), the west (West coast – greenstone (*pounamu*)), the south (southlands – muttonbird and other food) and the north (north coast – trade routes for *pounamu*) (O'Regan 2001). With this focus, Kaiapoi became the center for *pounamu* trade to the North Island. From here Ngai Tahu attacked the remaining Ngati Mamoe on Banks Peninsula, gaining wealth and renown for their *pounamu*. This state of affairs continued for the next 120 years, while Ngai Tahu gained wealth and prestige (Boleyn 1925). At the beginning of the 19th century Te Maiharanui, the *Upoko Ariki* (paramount leader) of Ngai Tahu, appreciated the trade possibilities with visiting Europeans and made even more wealth for Ngai Tahu. He took up residence in Takapuneke to help facilitate this trade.

Yet, the 1820s saw a sweeping blood feud, known as the Kai Huanga (translated as 'eat relatives'), in the area now called Canterbury (Boleyn 1925:10; Anderson 1998:78). This feud would eventually deplete Ngai Tahu's population considerably, affecting trade with Europeans. A corresponding result of the feud was that the depopulation made it easier for Europeans to move into the area.

The primary cause of the feud, it is said, was that a woman from Akaroa touched a cloak belonging to Te Maiharanui (Jacobson 1940:24). As it was the cloak of the *Upoko Ariki*, it was considered *tapu* and was not to be touched by anyone. The woman herself was not punished but a servant belonging to her relatives was killed as punishment. The servant's masters went to Tai Tapu, a nearby village, for revenge and killed a man there. This began a long series of raids, taking place up

and down the coast, from *pa* to *pa*. After each battle, the offended *pa* would send off warriors to take revenge and at several points those warriors ate those they killed, giving the feud its name (Boleyn 1925).

The feud only stopped because of the threat from Te Rauparaha. Takapuneke was sacked as a part of his campaign to conquer the entirety of the South Island. Te Rauparaha made his way down the coast, starting at Kaikoura in 1820, moving to Omihi and Kaiapoi in 1830 (see Figure 3.1 below). Tangatahara, a *rangatira* of the Banks Peninsula, killed Te Pehi Kupe, *rangatira* of Ngati Toa and Te Rauparaha's uncle, when they reached Kaiapoi (HPT 2001). Te Rauparaha and his group had feigned peaceful intentions, but had planned on sacking the *pa* at Kaiapoi. If they had succeeded it would have been a heavy blow to Ngai Tahu. It was in revenge for this killing that, several months later in November of 1830, Te Rauparaha decided to sack Takapuneke, the center of Ngai Tahu flax production and sometime home of Te Maiharanui (Evison 1997).



Figure 3.1: East Coast of the South Island - Kaikoura to Banks Peninsula

Te Maiharanui was a man of great renown. As the heir of Kati Rangiamoa, the noblest family of Ngai Tahu in the 1820s, he was led to the position of *Upoko Ariki* (Evison 1997). As such, Te Maiharanui was very *tapu*. He and everything he touched were off-limits to everyone else. Looking at him could bring sickness or death. Even his equals were afraid of losing land if not their lives over breaches of etiquette (Evison 1995). Te Maiharanui quickly became known to Europeans from Sydney for his trade in flax, based out of Takapuneke. This was lucrative to Ngai Tahu because it brought guns and ammunition, which were becoming prevalent in warfare.

Te Rauparaha, now a *rangatira* of Ngati Toa, was also trading flax with the Europeans from his base on Kapiti Island in the north. He wanted to conquer the South Island for its trade connections as

well as its supply of *pounamu* (Wilson 2002:n.p.). In November 1830, Te Rauparaha and a group of Ngati Toa men came to Takapuneke on the *Elizabeth*, a British mercantile brig out of London, captained by trader John Stewart. Te Rauparaha told Captain Stewart that Te Maiharanui had been killing Europeans and should be brought to justice. For passage, he promised the captain a load of flax (Evison 1995:n.p.). The Ngati Toa men stayed below decks as the ship anchored in the inlet directly in front of Takapuneke.

Te Maiharanui came out to greet the ship and was taken prisoner along with his wife and daughter. Because it was common courtesy to greet the trading ships and to be entertained on the ship, other people from the village did not suspect anything was amiss. They too went out to the ship and were either killed or taken prisoner. That night Ngati Toa sacked the village of Takapuneke, killing 150-200 people and taking about 50 prisoners. John Stewart and his crew assisted in these actions – rowed the men to and from the shore, kept prisoners, and helped in the sacking, murdering and plundering of the village (Evison 1995:n.p.). The bodies of the dead were left where they lay, though Te Rauparaha and his men disarticulated some and carried the flesh back with them in baskets (HPT 2001:1). Modern interpretations of these events say that upon realizing what was taking place, Te Maiharanui smothered his daughter so that she would not bear children to the enemy (Tainui 2001:1). With the village completely destroyed, Te Maiharanui was taken back to Kapiti Island. He was given to the wives of Te Pehi and others who had died in the battles between Ngati Toa and Ngai Tahu for punishment. I was told by Auntie Ruiha, a *kaumatua* (elder) at Onuku, that the women removed his eyes so that he could not see the stars and think of his home as they killed him over several days.

The British authorities in Australia, which had jurisdiction over New Zealand, arrested John Stewart and his men by order of Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, on 14 January 1831 (HPT 2001). The case was later dropped because of the lack of evidence for a conviction. The only eyewitnesses were Maori and as ‘heathens’, their word was not acceptable to the court (Evison 1995:n.p.). Stewart was later ordered to be re-arrested, but by that time he had disappeared and was never seen again. The massacre at Takapuneke and the resulting battle at Onawe, also in Akaroa Bay, left only a small contingent of Maori on Banks Peninsula.

Later, Ngati Toa, the *iwi* of Te Rauparaha, converted to Christianity and released their surviving Ngai Tahu prisoners, returning some of them to Banks Peninsula. The main point of return was

Koukourarata, which became the main settlement of Maori on Banks Peninsula. Te Rauparaha's son and nephew set up a school at Koukourarata and preached Christianity to those Ngai Tahu that Ngati Toa had wronged by harming and taking prisoner. Finally, there was a meeting between north and south *rangatira* that laid all to rest.

By the end of the battles with Te Rauparaha and combined with the results of the earlier blood feud, there were an estimated 1400 Maori on all of the South Island, down from an estimated 3000 in the 1820s (Mikaere 1998; Anderson 1998). This reduction of the population was due to the new kind of tribal warfare that arrived with colonials. Before their arrival *iwi* and *hapu* would fight, but between conflicts groups would retire and build up their numbers. After having sufficient time to rebuild strength, the group would go to restore their *mana*¹. In this respect, "Kai Tahu never got that chance. The spread of Christianity and the authority of the Governor meant that the wheel of revenge stopped turning on the battlefield, but it ground on in the memories of those whose scores were frozen in deficit" (Mikaere 1998:16).

This is where the Onuku community's reckoning of the history pauses. It does not stop here, as the community remains a part of the happenings in the area from then until now; but here they pause, due to the memories that remain to the people of the community. The people that were killed were all relations to the families still associated with Onuku. Because of that, those that died are brought up in conversation and are remembered often, allowing those memories to remain fresh. The events at Takapuneke are part of the Onuku community's lived, daily experience, allowing them to continue to construct their landscape through those events and their memories of their ancestors. Paora Tamati, a *kaumatua* at Onuku, spoke of this at a meeting on the registration of Takapuneke as a historic reserve in 2008. He said:

This site holds so much sorrow for us. So much has happened about this site and we have lived to be ashamed of some of it. Everywhere I go to talk about it, I go to talk about the sorrow we have from there, all these meetings. This is about our people that were out there, our families.

So, while the narrative continues from this point, the massacre at Takapuneke continues to be an archive of their communal memory. In Chapter Two, Forty (1999) notes that material objects often represent these memories, which in this case is the land itself. This is the focal point for Onuku

¹ When a group was defeated in battle, their *mana* was damaged. To reinstate their *mana*, they had to attack those who had defeated them. If they were successful, then they regained their *mana*. If they were defeated again, they may never be able to regain their lost *mana*.

Runanga's narrative of the site. This event is the initial reason the site is *tapu* and thus why they want the site protected – to preserve the burial place of their ancestors. In order to protect the site, these events and the site have had to be recognized by others as important in some respect. In order to facilitate that recognition, Onuku *Runanga* has focused their attention on the concept of *tapu*. While this was not a category that was readily recognizable by local non-Maori organizations that could help to protect the site, especially the BPDC in this context, Onuku *Runanga* has attempted to use this notion of *tapu* to claim cultural rights over the site. Following Rowlands (2004:211), this claim of categorization denotes Takapuneke as a 'cultural object' specific to the Onuku community and thus allows them to build cultural value in their contest with others over the sites' meaning and future. They have done so by emphasizing *tapu* continuously throughout the years in telling the story, as Uncle Paora mentions above in reference to 'all these meetings'. I will elaborate on the issue of *tapu* in Chapter Four.

Conversely, while the *Runanga*'s narrative joins with the bureaucratic historical narratives at this point, this is the beginning point for the latter. In the bureaucratic narratives, the massacre acts as only one point of interest among many. The importance the state and civic organizations emphasize is that the massacre necessitated the appointment of a British Resident, Busby, and the chain of events that followed, as discussed below. While not all of the following events are emphasized by the non-Maori organizations, these events do contextualize the relations between Maori and bureaucratic institutions within New Zealand and so have been included here. The key events for the historical narratives will be noted.

Colonial Beginnings and the Treaty of Waitangi

As a result of the events at Takapuneke, Ngai Tahu and other Maori lost all faith in the British (Evison 1997). There had been an unofficial agreement between the British and North Island Maori that had been applied throughout New Zealand, to the effect that Maori and British citizens would not kill one another (Orange 1987:11). The event at Takapuneke clearly violated that agreement. To attend to this problem, the Crown sent James Busby as British Resident to the Bay of Islands in 1831, at the request of Darling, the governor of New South Wales. At this time, New South Wales was the closest point of British colonial authority. Busby's stated purpose was to bring law and order over the British subjects of the area and restore the image of the British Empire (Moon 2002). This was the first official British involvement in New Zealand and was the beginning of the chain of events that led directly to the Treaty of Waitangi (Wilson 2002:n.p.). Busby's appointment is a key

event in the bureaucratic historical narratives. The fact that the massacre involved British subjects and led to official British involvement in New Zealand affairs acts as evidence that the events at Takapuneke should be recognized as historically significant within the national history.

Until this point, the British Colonial Office in London had wanted to apply colonial rule in New Zealand to British citizens only, leaving indigenous people to their own resolve and constitutionally separate. Here, a treaty or other formal arrangement seemed to be an unnecessary step as British law was only to cover small concentrations of British citizens. Indeed, conflicts between Europeans and Maori had been few before significant numbers of British subjects and other Europeans began to arrive in the early 1800s (Orange 1989). Traders had quickly realized that to continue their trade they had to maintain good relations with their Maori suppliers. Yet, as the number of Europeans increased, the partnership between European traders and Maori suppliers started to break down and both sides wanted someone to intervene – Maori wanted someone to control the unruly European population and Europeans wanted someone to whom they could appeal in times of European-Maori and inter-tribal conflict (Orange 1989).

This changed with Busby's appointment as an official Resident (Orange 1989:10). His role was to liaise with the indigenous people of the area to find common areas of concern, including trade, as the Crown was also receiving news of Maori *rangatira* asking for protection from Europeans. Busby was not to rule over Maori in any capacity – he was only to work with them (Orange 1987).

By 1834, other nations, particularly the French, were intent on getting a foothold in the country. To keep their position in the area, the British would have to escalate their involvement. In 1837, the House of Commons decided to draw up measures to secure the rights and protection of indigenous people in New Zealand in the name of Civilization and Christianity (Moon 2002:84). In 1838, after hearing the House of Commons recommendations, the House of Lords recommended that the Empire needed to fully annex New Zealand and make a treaty with Maori (Moon 2002:94). Even so, their intentions were to rule over British subjects only, citing a 'limited sovereignty' on the part of the Crown, to apply only to areas where there were concentrations of Europeans.

Slowly, British policy changed. The Crown had three options to justify settlement (Fleras and Spoonley 1999:14). First, the doctrine of *terra nullius*, which states that any land that is without settlement or direct utilization could be claimed under rights of discovery. Second, conquest of an

area or people would give the British the right to take what they saw as justly won in war. Third, settlement could occur after voluntary consent on the part of a resident population through Treaty, if the proposed area had a population with no formal government recognized by the Crown. If the area had a government body then British settlement could only occur after that body passed legislation for that purpose.

The Colonial Office agreed that Maori had sovereignty but that Maori sovereignty may have been incongruous with British sovereignty (Orange 1987). It had already recognized, in part, Maori independence through the recognition of the Maori flag in 1834 and a Declaration in 1835, and the Crown did not want to settle the country through war, so it was left in a position where it had to persuade Maori to release their sovereignty to the Crown. “In other words, it *is* the Crown that require[d] the cloak of legitimacy conferred by the Treaty, not Maori, whose legitimacy as *tangata whenua*² [was] reasonably secure” (Fleras and Spoonely 1999:14). The idea of Maori controlled islands with settlers accommodated in specific areas, instead became a vision of a colonial controlled New Zealand with Maori under a type of protected position – all for the good of the Maori future (Orange 1989).

To back up the Crown’s promises, it announced that it would investigate any title that had been obtained before the Treaty came into effect. These titles would have to be confirmed by the Crown to remain valid. In addition, the Crown would hold first option on all Maori land to contain the massive land grab that was already underway. In terms of the policy, this type of land acquisition would stop before it began to cause problems with Maori. However, there is no evidence that the Crown considered the long-term effects of this illegal buying and selling of land on issues of sovereignty or on the Maori population in general (Orange 1987).

In the end, with all the questions of sovereignty and territorial coverage answered to their satisfaction, Britain accepted that Maori had enough independent political capital to sign the Treaty as a legal body. Hobson, who was appointed Consul in 1839 and helped draft the Treaty, reasoned that the Treaty was to allow Britain sole use of the lands while holding foreign nations at bay (Orange 1989). It included the issues in which Britain was interested – Maori giving up sovereignty to the Crown and trade. This included giving the Crown the right to exercise power and authority

² Local people, aborigine, native

over everyone in the country as well as full control of land sales (Orange 1989). While Hobson went through with the signing of the Treaty as a means to ensure British rule over the entire two islands, his words espoused cooperation between Maori and the Crown. “Hobson explicitly and unambiguously presented the Treaty to Maori as an instrument of protection – a means of allowing the Crown to rule over the settler population in order to regulate European behaviour” (Moon 2002:131). This is what Maori wanted and what they thought they were getting. The end result, however, as we now know, was far from the reality those Maori *rangatira* were promised.

The problem lay in the translation of a few key words in the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which is named after the place where it was signed (Orange 1989). Williams, who translated the Treaty for Hobson, used the word *kawanatanga*, meaning government, for a translation of the word sovereignty. In the Maori version, the use of the word *rangatiratanga*, meaning self-determination, seems to assert the *rangatira* continued use of power that they ceded in the first article of the English version. Clearly there were some misconceptions here; even if you ignore the fact that *rangatira* could not cede land or sovereignty over any section of land other than their own immediate space because each person was responsible for their own land (Moon 2002:150).

Colonial New Zealand after the Treaty

For the first few years after the signing of the Treaty, Maori were still dominant numerically and militarily, but soon the tide turned as settlers streamed in. As settler numbers outpaced Maori, the transformation Hobson had planned began to take shape. This allowed him to secure the dominance over Maori that he had worked toward since the beginning of his appointment. It became less a matter of what was legal or inscribed in the Treaty and more what the settlers would allow Maori to retain.

As more settlers arrived, more laws were set up to control settlements, commerce and shipping (Orange 1989:37). Maori began to feel hemmed in by being able to sell their land only to the Crown, who could either deny the sale or buy it at a very low price and then in turn sell to Europeans at a high price. Maori grew more resentful about land dealings and complained to the Crown about not having representation in government. The Crown continued to change its policy until it blatantly informed Maori that they needed to submit to the Queen’s authority (Orange 1989:52). Maori pointed out that according to the Treaty they were to share sovereignty over the land.

Beginning about this time, in the mid-1840s and lasting until mid-1870s, there were a series of battles, primarily in the North Island, between Maori and government militia, whom were backed by the British military (www.newzealandwars.co.nz/). What are now known collectively as the New Zealand Land Wars³ were a result of the influx of settlers into regions controlled by Maori. These battles were spread out in many districts over decades, with the most well known battles taking place in Taranaki and Waikato. The conclusion of these battles ended with a massively reduced Maori controlled land base.

Finally, in 1865, the Native Land Court was established to find out who owned which sections of land (Orange 1989:56). Its purpose was also to give title to individuals so that all land would be under the same law – whether European or Maori. To go through the court was very costly and Maori often had to sell off part or all of the land to which they were trying to get title to pay for the process. As claims went through the court, Maori quickly realized that the Treaty was not a binding law on which they could rely. They were caught in a bind: to participate in the court gave the court legitimacy over their lands and the process of keeping or losing those lands, but to ignore the court was a sure way to lose the opportunity to maintain their lands. To complicate matters, in 1877, the Treaty of Waitangi was declared a ‘legal nullity’ by Chief Justice James Prendergast (Orange 1989:59). Thus, the ‘law’ that Maori were relying on was no longer legitimate.

Twentieth Century New Zealand

In 1900, the Native Lands Administration Act set up councils to manage the leases of Maori lands. There were Maori members on these councils but little was done to help Maori communities. Following this, in 1905, the councils became Pakeha dominated boards, which could appropriate Maori land at will. In 1909 the *Native Land Act* was passed but it did not improve the situation for Maori (Orange 1989). With no legitimate title from the Land Court there was no money to be had. There were few ways for Maori to get legitimate title and obtain the money to develop their land without giving it out to lease. According to Ward (1999), this did not begin to change until 1921, with the appointment of a sympathetic Native Minister, Gordon Coates. Coates and others, such as

³ How to name the battles between Maori and settlers at this time is still debated by historians. Please see Danny Keenan’s (Victoria University of Wellington) website for a summary of these debates: <http://www.newzealandwars.co.nz/>

Apirana Ngata and Mauri Pomare, influenced the programmes, managing schemes, and land developments in ways that took Maori interests into account. This was the first concerted attempt to combine customary tenure with European agricultural practice (ibid:159).

After World War Two, there were promising times of work and income, but this did not mean that all was forgotten (Ward 1999). The *Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967* forced Maori freehold land with four or fewer owners into general land. Any land that was considered to be ‘uneconomic’ could be sold. Maori protested in fear that this would be the last wave of land grabbing. These protests culminated in the 1975 Land March on the North Island, in which thousands of Maori marched from the far north to Parliament in order to raise awareness of Maori concerns.

The Land March occurred during the period of what is now known as the ‘Maori Renaissance’. According to Fleras and Spoonley (1999:119), by the late-1960s it had become apparent that policy and administration concerning Maori issues was “largely oblivious to the cultural and developmental needs of Maori”. Maori activism for greater recognition and access to resources became more prominent, as with the Land March. The Maori Renaissance was a cultural, political and social movement beginning in the 1970s that reintroduced Maori culture into the arts, language, media and society. While the Land March was expressing the continued frustration of Maori in regards to land rights, writers like Witi Ihimaera were publishing novels that highlighted the struggle for sovereignty. Maori groups were also starting language immersion programs in schools to rekindle the use of the Maori language. Overall, the renaissance was a general movement to assert Maori culture within the larger society with an aim to redirect Crown policy and relations with Maori. The resulting recognition and acknowledgement of Maori culture has led to gains in various forms (cultural, economic, social, symbolic) of capital for Maori.

Finally, under the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, events began to turn in policy as well. The Waitangi Tribunal was created to hear land claims as of 1975 and make recommendations according to the principles of the Treaty. The Tribunal was also called to determine the meaning and effect of the Treaty, but without the power to enforce any of those decisions (Orange 1989). Yet, in 1985 the Tribunal recommended that Maori be an official language in New Zealand and this recommendation was made into law. Both Maori and Pakeha began to see that the Tribunal could have influence over all of the country. Also in 1985, the Act was amended to allow the Tribunal to hear claims that went back to 1840.

In 1987, the High Court gave quasi-constitutional status to the Treaty of Waitangi, giving it legal weight under the principle of partnership (Fleras and Spoonley 1999:13). This decision repositioned Maori in the nation as a people deserving respect and rights according to the Treaty. Maori were exercising their new agency that resulted from the renaissance and were trying to enact their *tinorangatirātanga* rights as the Treaty stipulated in order to change conditions within the nation. As they did so, principles based on the Treaty slowly crept into law: in the *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986*, the *Environment Act 1986*, and the *Conservation Act 1987* (Orange 1989). In the *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986*, it was stated that the Crown should do nothing inconsistent with the Treaty's principles even though no one had agreed precisely on the nature of those principles. In 1989, the Crown released a statement of principle that professed equality, reconciliation and cooperation (Orange 1989). Even so, there is still a need for a clear definition of sovereignty and *rangatirātanga*.

Most definitions of sovereignty apply at the level of nation-states and deal with the issue of secession (Fleras and Spoonley 1999:49). Historically, sovereignty was not debated in New Zealand. By the time it became an issue the British had already inserted themselves as the sovereign power. This became apparent when settlers became the majority population holding most of the land, especially after the individualization of land title through the Native Land Court. Not until 1867 were Maori given four seats in parliament.

Another part of this debate, according to Spoonley and Fleras (1999:40), is due to the misunderstanding over the rights *of* sovereignty and the rights *to* sovereignty. Maori are not asking for a separate state within New Zealand, which would be an enactment of rights to sovereignty. They do however want to stand up and have their rightful place in decision-making. To accomplish this there would need to be ways to give a political voice to Maori self-determination.

Since the signing of the Treaty, there has been a continuous struggle between the Crown and Maori trying to express their *rangatirātanga* rights. As indigeneity grows in importance, issues of land, identity and political voice among indigenous groups raise hard questions about colonialism and its continuing impact (Fleras and Spoonley 1999). There has been a shift of symbolic power from colonial modes of belonging to indigenous models of self-determination. This is the path that New

Zealand is moving toward as Maori try to express their *rangatiratanga* rights as a mode of renewing themselves and their power.

We should also be aware that the history of the Treaty and its processes are being reinterpreted in light of the current political conditions of continued land alienation and the rise of indigenous rights (Poata-Smith 2004:168). Previously, the history of the Treaty and its subsequent events was written to fit European standards. The ‘new history’ of the Treaty as it is currently being written has caused some protest among non-Maori due to the assumption that it represents the Maori point of view in total; this is without recognizing that there are different interpretations within distinct Maori communities due to their experiences with colonial history and more recent interactions with the Crown (ibid:171). While the history is being rewritten through the Waitangi Tribunal to include the more complex nature of Maori life, it is attempting to add balance to the colonial history of the past, rather than providing a substitution.

Colonial Settlement of Banks Peninsula

Beginning in the mid-1840s, land ‘sales’ were becoming notorious in the South Island, as they had been in the North Island⁴. The land on Banks Peninsula was sold many times over by different *rangatira* claiming different rights to the Peninsula (Evison 1997). In 1837-9 George Hempleman purchased about 24 square kilometres of Banks Peninsula from Lake Forsyth to Flea Bay (see Figure 3.2). He did nothing with the land and made no objection when the French made a claim to it. It was about this time, in November 1839, that Captain Rhodes, without legally leasing or purchasing the land, landed fifty cattle at the site of Takapuneke, making them the first cattle on the South Island (Anderson 1998). Prior to the landing of the cattle, Rhodes burned the remains from the massacre and the village in order to clear the land for farming and the incoming cattle (Wilson 2002). William Green was a settler brought in from Sydney by Rhodes to manage the cattle. Later, Green would take possession of the area and build a successful hotel at the northern-most point of the bay where Takapuneke was located (see Figure 3.4 for detail). This northern-most point of land would later become known as Green’s Point because of the hotel that was well known among whalers.

⁴ In fact, the first battle of the New Zealand Land Wars was outside of Nelson.

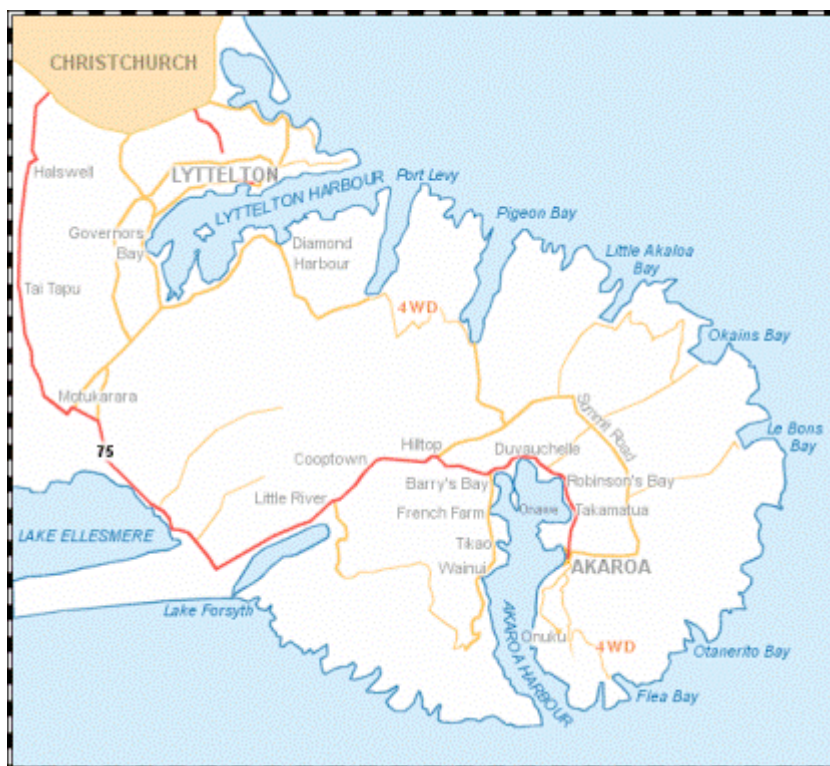


Figure 3.2: Banks Peninsula

The events surrounding Rhodes and Green's Point are a point of investment for both Onuku *Runanga* and the historic narratives put forth by the other organizations with an interest in the area, but for different reasons. For Onuku *Runanga*, the spreading of the ashes as Rhodes burned the remains would later be used as evidence in their application to register the site as a *wahi tapu* with HPT that the entire bay at Takapuneke was *tapu*. As the remains were burned the Onuku community's ancestors' ashes covered the bay, making the area into a burial ground. For Onuku *Runanga*, this is a key point in the delineation of the site as *tapu* and acts as an end point for their narrative of the site. All of the site's value according to *Runanga* is based on the events up to this point. The fact of Takapuneke being *tapu* has also been accepted by HPT through their recognition of the site as a *wahi tapu*. ACT and BPDC/CCC also recognize the site as a *wahi tapu*. Yet, this is only a notional point of value for these organizations. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

For the non-Maori organizations' historical narratives, the actions of Rhodes and Green are important because they are the first events in the process of settling the area – landing cattle, building a hotel (which is noted by locals as the first commercial establishment in the South Island), and starting European involvement in the area that would lead to future developments. Following Kuchler in Chapter Two, these events acted as an erasure of Maori involvement in the area, situating

European settlement and activities as predominant. While the Treaty and the involvement of the British are significant points of interest tying the local area to the national construction of history, Rhodes and Green are the first point of local Pakeha involvement. This is, in a sense, a Pakeha ancestral link to the area. These events represent the Pakeha point of entry that were a direct result from the Treaty process and thus links the national historic narrative back to the local area, acting as a foundation of landscape construction for local Pakeha like those involved with ACT. These events, like the creation mythology for the Onuku community, are part of the Pakeha identity for the area around Akaroa.

The historical narratives promoted by the non-Maori organizations are furthered by two other points of value the year after Rhodes burned the remains. First, in May 1840, two Ngai Tahu *rangatira* at Onuku signed the Treaty of Waitangi as it was circulated around the South Island. Historian and ACT member John Wilson (2002:n.p.) wrote that not only was this an important step in reconciling relations between the British and Ngai Tahu, the most numerically dominant *iwi* on the South Island, but that: “The Signing of the Treaty at Onuku reinforces the claim that the full story of Britain’s acquiring sovereignty over New Zealand can be told [at Takapuneke/Greens Point] more effectively than anywhere else in the country.” While the signing of the Treaty may seem like an important event to the Onuku *Runanga*’s narrative, or even in the Onuku community itself, that fact did not bear out in this research.

Second, in August of 1840, Capt. Stanley, with the ship *Britomart*, hoisted the British flag at Green’s Point to demonstrate sovereignty over the South Island to the residents there as well as the French, who were attempting to settle on Banks Peninsula (Evison 1995). For the non-Maori organizations’ historical narratives, both of these events are evidence of a link between the events of the massacre and the involvement of the British in New Zealand first by signing the Treaty at Onuku and then by enactment of British sovereignty after the signing of the Treaty. This claim of sovereignty declared the place of Europeans in the area as legitimate.

Years later, between 1898 and 1926, monuments were erected at Green’s Point to recognize the latter event. It is now the location of the Britomart Memorial, a historical reserve, which proclaims the history of British sovereignty over the area and New Zealand as a whole (BPDC 2002) (see Figure 3.3). This small memorial acts as a focal point for the non-Maori historical narratives due to it being the representation of the initial instance of official British involvement on Banks Peninsula.

Much like the land of Takapuneke, the memorial is a 'cultural object' acting as a repository of Pakeha memory (Rowlands 2004). While the event at Takapuneke acts as a spark for Pakeha history in the area, Rhodes and Green's actions, the signing of the Treaty and the Britomart incident all act as the beginning of a consistent Pakeha narrative in the Akaroa area. Thus, these events are strong points for investment in the non-Maori organizations' historic narratives. This set of events is also the effective end point of those narratives.



Figure 3.3: The Plaque on the Britomart Memorial

Even so, there are several other occurrences that provide further detail on the place of Maori and Pakeha on the Peninsula. In 1848-9, measles, among other European diseases, hit the area hard and killed many Maori (Boleyn 1925:103). Soon after this, the New Zealand Company set aside the Kaiapoi *pa* as a Maori reserve. Many Maori from Banks Peninsula went there, leaving about 200 Maori on the Peninsula itself. They generally stayed in the areas near Koukourarata, Wairewa and Rapaki. The population loss from the feud and disease left Peninsula Maori unable to defend against land grabs by Europeans (Anderson 1998). The additional effect of selling off lands made Ngai Tahu dependant on Pakeha: on the Crown for land to live on, settlers for work, skills and goods; and new religious people and ministers who taught them about how to be Pakeha. Their choices were to adapt or be eliminated. They adapted. In fact, Ngai Tahu were among the first

Maori to adopt Pakeha clothing and housing (Mikaere 1998). Ngai Tahu tried to have good relations with Pakeha and follow their law, which had quickly become *the* law.

By 1848, Maori in the area had sold all the land except for their residences, reserves and *urupa* for 2000 British pounds. Henry Kemp, for the New Zealand Company, had bought land in Canterbury and North Otago (Mikaere 1998:18). He said that if Ngai Tahu would not sell it, he would buy it from Ngati Toa and then remove Ngai Tahu by force. Ngai Tahu decided to sell. The claim was for all the land from from Kaiapoi to Otago⁵. Maori within Ngai Tahu reasoned that they could exchange land for wealth as a way to gain *mana*. Also, the act of selling the land showed other Maori and the Crown who had the authority to sell it, thus proving that Ngati Toa did not have that authority. Ngai Tahu, at this time, was unaware of the full implications of selling the land in this manner.

This situation regarding land claims in New Zealand changed after the wars of the 1860s. Maori were tired of fighting wars, but they did not stop sending petitions to the government, showing that even at this early date that Maori were taking on forms of Pakeha governmentality for their own interests. At this time Maori were expected to farm as Pakeha did, with none of the training, funding, or experience that Pakeha had or were being given. For Ngai Tahu in particular, the promise of reserve lands was disappointing. When the reserves were finally surveyed, as promised, they amounted to about 2.5 hectares per person (Mikaere 1998:22). Maori from Ngai Tahu said this took away their livelihoods. In 1868, the *Ngai Tahu Reference Validation Act* was passed which would increase reserves to 5.7 hectares per head (ibid). In exchange, Ngai Tahu had to give up all claims of native title, meaning that they could no longer dispute the claim to their lands (ibid).

In 1879, the Smith and Nairn Royal Commission found that the Crown had not paid Ngai Tahu the appropriate cost of the land (Evison 1997). Upon this finding the Crown cut off the funding for the commission and temporarily forgot Ngai Tahu's claim. It was not until 1920-22 that the Land Claims Commission found that the Crown had neglected its promises. In 1944, the *Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act* was passed and allowed annual payments to a trust board for the welfare of Ngai Tahu. This was purely a monetary compensation. No land was returned to the *iwi*. It was not until 1987 that Ngai Tahu took their claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and won (Evison 1997). The

⁵ Kemp claimed that the sale included land from coast to coast, though the width of the claim was under contention for many years.

Tribunal reported in 1991 and the Crown and Ngai Tahu negotiated a comprehensive settlement that was signed in 1997 and legislated in 1998 (Cant and Goodall 2001). In November 1998, Onuku *marae* hosted the Prime Minister for a public apology from the Crown to Ngai Tahu over their settlement. However, by this time, the title to the site at Takapuneke was held by the Banks Peninsula District Council as endowment land for the improvement of the area, as it had not been part of the Ngai Tahu settlement.

Takapuneke

Although the remaining events concerning Takapuneke are not part of the current narratives that are being promoted, they do show the process of those narratives being endowed with value by each of the groups. The first of these events took place in 1965, when the BPDC built a sewage plant on the beach of Takapuneke (see Figure 3.4). The plant was situated on top of the site and fireplaces of Te Maiharanui's village (Ogilvie 1990). Protests by Onuku *Runanga* went unheard and the larger community of Akaroa remained unaware of the historical significance of the area to the local *iwi* (BPDC 2002). Clearly, at this point, the cultural value of Takapuneke was unrecognized by any but Onuku *Runanga*. The site becoming a sewage plant shows that the only value deemed important at the site by BPDC was economic. The fact that the *Runanga*'s protests were ignored also shows that they had no power over the land, and that the cultural and historical value that they placed on it could be ignored. This is prior to the revitalization of Maori indigeneity that came to wide notice with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975.

In June 1978, the BPDC at Akaroa purchased the land at Takapuneke above the sewage plant from a private owner for future use as a residential area, a rubbish dump, and expansion of the existing sewage plant (Wilson 2002). The dump was built in 1979 despite the protest of the Onuku *Runanga* and HPT, who wanted to protect the designated archaeological site there. After an investigation, it was determined by HPT that the site would not be harmed and the dump went ahead. Local Maori protests were ignored once again. Here we see a slight evolution in the perception of the site. While BPDC's view is still based on economic value, HPT, as a national body charged by the state with the preservation and protection of heritage areas, recognized that the site had some cultural value based on the archaeological remains.

Even though the use of the site as a sewage plant and the later purchase of the area for multiple uses were against Onuku *Runanga*'s wishes, we can see their efforts to protect the site as an attempt to

protect the values that they associated with it. While in the first instance, the *Runanga* was completely ignored and the sewage plant was constructed on some of the former village site, the second case shows the beginning of recognition in the form of documented archaeological remains. While such remains are protected by law, the larger context of which those remains are a part – the Maori narrative to which they belong – was not regarded by the non-Maori community or institutions as important at the time, nor was any connection between the remains and the Onuku community realized.

In 1992, the Council decided to act on its original plans and section the area for housing development, keeping the archaeological site as a reserve. HPT did further research on the area and decided that additional archaeological remains were not evident, but that it would be necessary to consult with the local Maori community as this was an area of spiritual importance to them (BPDC 2002). This is the first recognition of a link between the community at Onuku and the site as possibly having some cultural value. Even so, that link was not strong enough to actualize any results, as it would be 10 years before reserve status was actually achieved for the area around the archaeological site.

This history became available to the public in 1995 when Harry Evison, a noted historian, wrote an article for *The Press* newspaper on the significance of the site to the local Maori. Here is a clear indication of the realization of cultural value within the site. Not only had HPT shown that there was a more complex value to the site through the archaeological remains in their research as reported to the District Council, but that complexity of value was recognized openly in the regional newspaper, a widely recognized public media resource, by a legitimate academic, who is also a close friend to many at Onuku. While this was a historical recounting of the events at Takapuneke, it was portrayed in a way to bring attention to the site in order to influence the District Council to move toward protecting it, rather than as a way to promote the history in its own right.

However, the Crown showed no interest in purchasing the land at that time, so the Council entered into negotiations with Onuku *Runanga* (BPDC 2002). In 1998, the negotiations led to an agreement that closed the rubbish dump. In addition, an apology was made to Onuku *Runanga*, and a reserve was set up to conserve roughly one half of the area of Takapuneke (BPDC 2002). Although Onuku *Runanga* issued a strong statement explaining its feelings about the development of the area, it also conceded that it was part of a larger community and agreed to lift the *tapu* on a section on the

northern side of the bay adjacent to the Britomart Memorial, which would then be open for development. To Uncle Paora, this was a point of shame: “We had to compromise on the site, to get a little bit. Now I see that we shouldn’t have compromised and I have lived to be ashamed of it.” Anahera Whetu⁶, a Maori Heritage Counsellor at HPT, furthered this point when she iterated that: “Onuku had no choice at that time. It was a matter of getting something or nothing. Even if what they were getting was not what they wanted. It was something.”

Even though there was not enough support for the value of Takapuneke at this point to protect the entire area, clearly it was building to a greater extent. The site and its value as important to Maori was recognized enough to close the dump as an inappropriate use of the land. Also, the link had been made specifically to Onuku *Runanga* as the appropriate group affiliated with Takapuneke in order to receive the apology. Further, the recognition of its cultural value had risen to such an extent that the BPDC designated part of the area as a reserve, relinquishing it from its original economic purpose.



Figure 3.4: Takapuneke area showing various features⁷

⁶ Ms. Whetu is a young Maori woman, who has worked for HPT for only a couple of years. Her job as a Maori Heritage Councilor is to do research and interact with Maori groups to register their *wahi tapu* with HPT. She is currently finishing her degree at University in Museum Studies. While she is the contact person at HPT for issues around Takapuneke, she admitted that she knew about the site first academically, rather than through interaction with Onuku *marae*.

⁷ This map shows the various features around the Takapuneke area discussed in this section. The sewage plant is the cross-hatched area in the lower left corner. The *pa* site is the lined area next to the sewage plant and includes the area of

A committee, primarily consisting of members of the Pakeha Akaroa community and headed by a *runanga* member⁸ from Otautahi/Christchurch, was convened by BPDC to begin the process of building the Takapuneke Reserve and interpretive structures. At this point the construction on the reserve included a small building on a concrete slab that would house panels explaining the historical link of the events at Takapuneke with the other events around the Akaroa harbour (BPDC 2002). These plans were completed without Onuku *Runanga*'s knowledge.

Here we see the beginning of the differentiation between the construction of the site as *tapu* based on its history by Onuku *Runanga* and its construction as of national historical importance by the bureaucratic organizations. While the interpretative panels were to explain the massacre at Takapuneke, the point of them was to inform the public about the site's place within the larger history of the Akaroa area, with growing ties to the history of the nation. Even in these early stages, with no consultation with Onuku *Runanga*, the site was being used as a stepping-stone to the nationally linked historical narrative, rather than as *the* focus as in the *Runanga*'s narrative. Even as the *Runanga* was accruing cultural capital through wider recognition of their ties to the site and the site's importance as *tapu*, this was being undermined by the Takapuneke Committee under BPDC.

It was at this time that several other organizations stepped in to give their opinion on the situation. One of those groups was the Akaroa Civic Trust (ACT), which cares for the Britomart memorial and the historical sites around the town. This is a significant job considering that Akaroa has been recognized by HPT as one of the largest historic areas in the country – covering the entire waterfront and both the commercial center and the adjacent residential streets of the town with a recognition of both the French and British contributions to the area (Thompson 2000).

ACT was concerned that any development would disturb the historic significance of the area, particularly around the Britomart Memorial on Green's Point. The memorial is at the edge of the actual Takapuneke site on the section that had not been covered by the reserve (see Figure 3.4 above). ACT agreed with Onuku *Runanga* that the unreserved section of Takapuneke should remain undeveloped and suggested in a letter of support of the protection of the Takapuneke site to HPT

the sewage plant. This is where the archaeological remains are located. The rubbish dump is marked with cross-hatching in the bottom right corner.

⁸ This individual is a well-known Maori *tohunga* (priest/minister) in the area. He was appointed to the committee due to his knowledge of *tapu*, even though he is not a member of the Onuku community.

that the Britomart area should connect with the Takapuneke Reserve across the unreserved area to show the intertwining of local histories. ACT wanted to use the area to educate the public about the “bicultural foundations of modern New Zealand” (Wilson 2002:8). Again, while we see that the initial attention to the Takapuneke area is based on acknowledging its value to Maori, the focus remains on the wider historical aspect as ACT focused on its links to the greater national macronarrative. In Chapter Five, the interests behind ACT’s actions will be explored.

In 2002, Takapuneke was designated as a *wahi tapu* by HPT. The *Runanga* at Onuku stated in their application for *wahi tapu* status to HPT that the ashes of their ancestors covered the area around Takapuneke, making the whole area *tapu*. This included the land set aside for development (BPDC 2002). This was a step forward for the *Runanga* in fostering recognition of the cultural value of the site in order to start negotiating its protection. This is a clear acknowledgment of the site as *tapu* in a form that is recognizable to other agencies, namely the legislated form of *wahi tapu*. It was no longer an amorphous Maori concept, but rather a legally defined term. The distinctive nature of *wahi tapu* will be clarified in Chapter Five.

Also, the *Runanga* and ACT, working together to protect the site, hoped to introduce the issue onto the national agenda giving the site the highest level of protection. If this occurred, it was anticipated that the Crown would purchase the land as an endowment reserve and end the local concerns about rate increases due to lost revenue. This potential loss of revenue was a chief concern of the District Council, so the Crown’s purchase would nullify the power of the BPDC over the site (BPDC 2002). For ACT, the importance of that decision was that the projected land purchase would finally link the reserve previously set aside and the Britomart Memorial by including the land in between the two, physically and symbolically linking the Pakeha history with the Maori history. One step in this direction occurred in 2002, when the BPDC officially designated half of the site as a Local Purpose (historical site) (HPT 2002b). The District Council had unofficially protected this half of the site until this point. The section that was gazetted contained the archaeological remains that had been discovered by HPT and were exempt from any kind of development (see Figure 3.4 above). This was also an attempt to end the situation concerning Onuku *Runanga*’s interest in the remaining land.

Even so, all plans on the new reserve site slowed in 2002 when the Council appointed Takapuneke Reserve Committee came under fire from HPT for disturbing some of the archaeological remains while trying to improve the site with native plantings (BPDC 2002). While HPT debated whether to

press charges against the Committee and after consulting with Onuku *Runanga*, the Takapuneke Reserve Committee Chairman used his status as a recognized *tohunga* to declare a *rahui*⁹, bringing the plans for the reserve site to a halt. The Chairman, in conference with the local *iwi* around Banks Peninsula, had decided that the massacre at Takapuneke was still too close to them and plans were moving too fast. As a result, no work was to be done at the site and the Committee itself was adjourned until the *rahui* was lifted (BPDC 2002).

With the *rahui* in place on the reserve side of the area, the BPDC was still considering the sale of the Greens Point land. From the end of 2002 until the beginning of 2005, the area remained unchanged. BPDC did not move to sell the land as they were anticipating a merger with Christchurch City Council, which would alleviate any concerns over endowment lands and financial issues on the Peninsula. Even so, Onuku *Runanga* was unable to shift the sentiment toward protection, though there were annual meetings between the *Runanga* and various other organizations and politicians toward that end.

Onuku *Runanga* organized these meetings in conjunction with ACT and often HPT, with BPDC representatives present at them. The meetings reiterated each group's thoughts on the importance of the site: the *Runanga*'s emphasis on the *tapu* and events at the site (supported by both ACT and HPT) and BPDC's emphasis on the economic value of the endowment. Additionally, at one meeting, in 2004, the representative of the Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage was present, showing that there was possible interest in the site as a nationally important historic site. The Ministry of Culture and Heritage has the role of "provid[ing] and manag[ing] cultural resources on behalf of government for the benefit of all New Zealanders" (www.mch.govt.nz 2008). They provide and monitor funding for art projects and heritage institutions like museums, but also the Historic Places Trust. While HPT's receives funding from this Ministry, it was created and maintains its power based on the *Historic Places Act 1993*. In general, the Ministry is interested in promoting New Zealand culture in all its facets. The Ministry's interest here can be seen as an investigation into the value of Takapuneke to determine whether the site has sufficient reason to be considered historically important on a national scale.

⁹ A *rahui* is a restriction on action in an area. It has traditionally been used to keep people from gathering resources from an area where a resource is becoming endangered.

All in attendance at the meetings used them as a forum for consciousness-raising in that almost all agreed that Takapuneke was an important site to Maori and New Zealand history. They also agreed that the site should be protected, though here the BPDC said only that they would take this into consideration, but that they needed to be paid for the site in order to relinquish it. There was no real debate about the site itself. All agreed as to the events that took place and the fact that they did, indeed, take place. Even with the different party's agreements on these issues, no one except Onuku *Runanga* was willing to move toward protecting the entire site. Yet, the fact that they were able to call meetings and attempt to negotiate with officials shows a steep rise in their ability to exercise agency. This is also another example of Maori using forms of Pakeha governmentality in pursuit of their interests. In the range of possible actions available to the *Runanga*, they continued to choose paths that were similar to bureaucratic methods like meetings with representatives from various organizations and negotiations with bureaucratic bodies.

At this point in negotiations between Onuku *Runanga* and BPDC, there were two kinds of values that were evident: economic and cultural. While both sides understood and acknowledged the position of the other, neither side was willing to surrender their stance entirely. The District Council did concede that part of the site had cultural value when it reserved one section of it as a Local Purpose Historic Reserve. While the *Runanga* had been able to raise the perception of the cultural value of Takapuneke so that other groups involved with the site accepted it, that value still did not supplant the economic value held by BPDC.

The end result of these conversations was that the BPDC owned the site and would only relinquish it for fair market price. Onuku *Runanga*'s argument, which was supported by others in the area such as ACT, was that the site is important and that they should not have to pay for its protection. At that point, at base, this was a contest between the BPDC's institutional power and the *Runanga*. Unfortunately for the *Runanga*, the BPDC had been given authority by the state through the *Local Government Act 2002* and therefore had a nationally recognized legitimacy that bolstered its power in being able to determine the fate of the area. While the Maori Renaissance in the late 1960s had helped Maori to gain capital in society, Onuku *Runanga* was still lacking enough value to successfully challenge the authority of the Council.

Yet, these meetings also acted as a path for Onuku *Runanga* to exercise agency. They had worked to build a reputation for themselves as excellent hosts, as *kaitiaki*, and these meetings allowed them

an opportunity to build on that as well as to promote the cultural value of Takapuneke. The Onuku participants' notion of *kaitiakitanga* will be explored in Chapter Four. Further, these meetings helped them to gain knowledge in how to deal with the bureaucracy that stood in the way of the site's protection, learning the procedures and language of the bureaucracy through these and other encounters with the bureaucratic officials and focusing the range of actions that were appropriate to dealing with those officials.

The situation began to shift at Waitangi Day 2005, when the Mayor of Akaroa and Chairman of the BPDC Bob Parker¹⁰ made a surprise announcement that the BPDC intended to protect the entire area, noting the site's significance to both Maori and European cultures in New Zealand (ACT 2008). In 2006, just before its disestablishment, the Banks Peninsula District Council officially resolved to designate the whole Takapuneke area as a historic reserve based on its historical importance, mirroring the earlier announcement by Mayor Parker (ACT 2008).

In March of 2006, the BPDC was disestablished and the region was put under the administration of Christchurch City Council (CCC). This included the responsibility for the endowment and reserve sites on the Peninsula. CCC accepted the resolution of the BPDC in protecting the Takapuneke site.

The Council declared its aim is to preserve the local and national historical, archaeological and cultural nature and interest of the site and to ensure that the site is appropriately managed for future generations. The Council also noted that the site is already regarded as a wahi tapu (ACT 2008:4).

Late in 2007, the site had come to the attention of Nanaia Mahuta, Minister of Local Government¹¹, due to work by MP Ruth Dyson and ACT members in conjunction with Onuku *Runanga*. Mahuta announced that she supported the notion of protecting the site. However, while the Minister can give approval or disapproval, they cannot intervene in the decision of the local government, which ultimately makes the designation (www.localcouncils.govt.nz 2008). Minister Mahuta told ACT that she supported the change from an endowment to a historic reserve under the *Reserves Act 1977*, stating that she "found the historical background to this area of land to be very significant from not only a Maori point of view but also a New Zealand wide point of view, therefore the land warrants protection" (ACT 2008:4).

¹⁰ Mayor Parker is the sole participant who is represented by his real name. He was not concerned with anonymity, as he has been and continues to be a public figure for many years.

¹¹ The Minister of Local Government is the official that approves the change in purpose for endowment lands.

In March 2008, Minister Mahuta gave approval to shifting the purpose of the Takapuneke area from endowment lands to reserve lands. The official decision is pending. Nevertheless, the fact that there has been this process of decision-making clearly indicates that the indigenous cultural value of the site has now been recognized and is in the process of being defined by all parties involved in the site.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the construction of the narratives of Takapuneke as a site of cultural, historic and economic value. We can see from the first declaration of part of the site in 1965 as the sewage plant was being constructed, that the site was viewed as having economic value to BPDC, but no cultural value to anyone but Onuku *Runanga*. The most recent meetings about the gazettal of the site show that there has been a steady development of and change in the site's meaning and value. In the announcement at Waitangi Day and the subsequent resolution by Council, particularly, as well as the support of the Minister of Local Government, we can see that the cultural value in the site had been recognized as worthy of attention and protection, shifting the site to what Rowlands (2004) would call a 'cultural object or property'.

Onuku *Runanga*'s narrative is firmly situated in the site of Takapuneke due to the massacre that took place there and the subsequent burning of the remains, both of which made the site *tapu*. While the *Runanga* promotes the history of the site at meetings, they are using the story of the massacre to support the demand for it to be protected due to its *tapu*, rather than to promote its historic value. Protecting the site will allow them to maintain the *tapu* of the site through their position as *kaitiaki* of the area. They have invested in the site itself, using the events that took place there as a signpost to its importance.

Generally speaking, the non-Maori, bureaucratic organizations involved with Takapuneke are focused on the history of the massacre as an initial event, leading to the creation and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the actions of Rhodes and Green, the signing of the Treaty at Onuku and the event at Britomart. This history is being promoted through meetings with Onuku *Runanga*, but also through the necessary announcements in the media and their ability to gazette the site as a Historic Reserve. While this history is based on the site, it spreads out from there to encompass first the harbour and then the nation. These non-Maori organizations are now trying to protect the site in order to promote their narratives and its relation to the general Akaroa harbour area.

Despite the fact that there has now been an agreement on the site as culturally valuable, Onuku *Runanga* and each of the other interest groups will attempt to negotiate how that value is to be interpreted. Each non-Maori organization has been focused on the site as linked to history, while accepting the categorization of the site as *wahi tapu*. Yet, they have different, but corresponding motivations for doing so. These motives and their use of the concept of *wahi tapu* will be discussed in Chapter Five. The *Runanga* has been basing their definition of the site on the concept of *tapu*. We turn now to that concept.

Chapter Four

The Production of *Tapu* as Concept and Narrative at Onuku

As indicated in previous chapters, the different groups and organizations involved with Takapuneke have different perspectives on the nature and meaning of the site. To get a better understanding of these different narrative constructions, it is necessary to clarify how members of the Onuku community and the non-Maori organizations involved are using the concepts *tapu* and *wahi tapu*. The use of these terms has evolved over the past decade and these changes, among other issues to be discussed below, have assisted in the promotion of each group's narrative of Takapuneke.

In the last chapter we saw how Onuku *Runanga* has built a narrative based on the idea of Takapuneke as *tapu*. For the Onuku community, the massacre that took place there in 1830 is the reason the site is *tapu*. As *tapu*, the entire site was to be left undisturbed and thus protected from development. To accomplish this aim, it has been necessary for the *Runanga* to develop and emphasize the concept of *tapu* as having cultural value in order for it to be accepted by other institutions as a legitimate site that deserves protection. The Onuku people's primary method of achieving this has been through their conceptualization of *kaitiakitanga*. As explained briefly in Chapter One, *kaitiakitanga* is guardianship over the tangible and intangible aspects of the landscape. A *kaitiaki* is a person who takes that role as guardian. Additionally, *kaitiakitanga* at Onuku has also taken on the task of setting up and maintaining relationships with other interest groups and politicians, as well as with the land. It is Onuku *marae*'s reputation as *kaitiaki* that has helped them in negotiating a position for themselves and Takapuneke in the field of struggle. The concept of *kaitiakitanga* is part of Onuku *Runanga*'s attempt to build cultural value and they have chosen to emphasize and use this concept strategically in conjunction with the notion of *tapu*.

History of Taboo/*Tapu*

Tapu, or taboo as it is commonly known, has historically been a key topic in anthropology. Captain Cook, who encountered it on his travels around Polynesia, introduced the word itself to the colonial world as one used in various situations that involved restrictions or avoidances (Cook 1784). The term soon came to be used by early anthropologists and social thinkers as a way to refer to prohibition in general, thus the generalized term as taboo. Sigmund Freud, in 1913, made an attempt to analyze the concept in his book *Totem and Taboo*, relying extensively on W. Thomas Northcote's explanation in the 11th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. James Frazer, and later

Hutton Webster, also conducted extensive studies on various practices of taboo by analyzing the written accounts of others representing many different societies.

In *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, Frazer (1914:v) argued that taboo is a system of prohibitions that influenced religious, social, and political areas of life by “inculcating a superstitious veneration for the persons of nobles and the rights of private property”. The veneration of property and the people in power refers back to Verdery and Humphery’s (2004) notion in Chapter Two that private property presumes control over the land and the meaning of the land and ultimately equates a claim of recognition. Groups that had the ability to control the meaning of the land and the land itself (nobles in Frazer’s example) were able to construct that meaning as they saw fit, which may have allowed other groups to identify with, or be alienated from, the land. So, it is not just a matter of controlling the meaning of the land for a specific group, but that the construction of meaning may have wider affects for how others relate to the land or other groups affiliated with it.

Webster’s analysis of these taboos was based on leaving aside all the practices that had no obvious utility such as those that were rooted in ideas about luck or the lack of luck. The resulting practices, he asserted, were a specific series of ‘thou-shalt-nots’ (Webster 1942:vii). Moreover, it was Webster’s estimation that due of their general ignorance of the world around them, taboo was a powerful tool for controlling the ‘savage’ population (ibid).

Much later, Levi-Strauss (1969), taking a structuralist view, conceptualized the ‘incest taboo’ as a complicated set of rules, ensuring that marriage partners would be available to the group. In discussing totemism, Levi-Strauss (1966) theorized that taboo stresses the significance of objects or places and their separation from, or inclusion in, individuals or kin groups. He separated different cultural categories around the concepts of the natural (which included objects/places/ totemic figures) and the cultural (which included individuals and kin groups).

Radcliffe-Brown (1952) used a form similar to Levi-Strauss’ theorized significance of objects and places, calling it ‘ritual value’. He did not like the growing practice of using the word taboo as a blanket term for all types of prohibitions that resembled the Polynesian *tabu/tapu/kapu* – which he defined as ‘forbidden’, side stepping any of the confusion coming from defining the term as sacred. He preferred the terms ‘ritual avoidance’ and ‘ritual prohibition’ to refer to the rules of restriction.

Radcliffe-Brown saw a ritual prohibition as a rule of behavior associated with a belief. When that rule was broken, the person would be placed in an undesirable ritual status that was based on a group's ideas of religion or spirituality (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). This change in status then opened them up to illness or death. Rituals can also be used to return the person's former ritual status. For example, if a Maori were to go to an *urupa*, they then become *tapu* from being in the area of the dead ancestors buried there, thus changing their ritual status from *noa* (free from *tapu*) to *tapu*. Upon leaving the *urupa*, they must wash their hands or sprinkle themselves with water in order to remove the *tapu*, returning themselves to their former ritual status of *noa*. Even though this process is simple (the hand washing or water sprinkling can be done to oneself in a matter of seconds and requires no formality) the efficacy is thorough. This is the process still used today when Maori visit *urupa* or *tapu* places like Takapuneke.

Again, to make these issues clean-cut, Radcliffe-Brown (1952) wanted to dismiss the use of the term 'sacred' in favor of the term 'ritual value', because of its lack of religious connotations. Anything – a time, object, person, or space – that is the object of ritual avoidance could be said to have ritual value. This ritual value is exhibited in the behavior toward the object in question. This can be positive or negative, meaning that the object could become a matter of avoidance or ritual respect. Value can also be thought of in terms of ritual or social value, but is ultimately based in the relation between the individual and the object in question (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). The details behind these relations are the matter for inquiry, trying to understand the symbolic expressions to find the social meanings of ritual or social value. To put it simply, if many people in a community adhere to the prohibitive rules, then they are admitting by their action that the rules and the object on which the rules are based are important to the community. According to Radcliffe-Brown's functionalist stance, the fact that society agrees to the importance of the social value of the object allows for the community to function smoothly. Therefore, the object then has an obvious social value and a value to be used as capital, in Bourdieu's terms, within the appropriate fields.

Ritual value works the same way as social value but may be symbolically representative of something important rather than directly important (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). An object such as a family heirloom may be falling apart but it is the fact that it has been passed down through the family, thus representing perhaps the cohesion and strength of family ties, which is important. In this way, ritual prohibitions are there to serve the purpose of keeping people aware of the social value of important objects or occasions. *Tapu* acts in this way as well. Yet, a *tapu* site can only

physically change so much before the value as *tapu* is lost. The conflict over Takapuneke shows that if the land was to be developed, Maori would judge that the *tapu* was then lost and the value of the land to their memory and culture would disappear, breaking the social cohesion that was built at least partly on those memories. Moreover, their claim for guardianship over the site would be negated, leaving them no claim to recover the ancestral space.

Mary Douglas' (1966) work focused on the use of symbolic systems that communities construct in order to build social cohesion. She demonstrated how rituals of purity and impurity create social unity through the experience of those rituals. However, her emphasis as a structuralist was not the social unity of communities, but rather how communities use symbolic systems to order their society on the conceptual level based on categories. Douglas (1966) argued that social cohesion was created as individuals tried to influence each other's behavior through these symbolic systems and by doing so they reinforced social pressure behind certain issues that they stressed. Society was then held in check by the dangers that threatened it. Knowing the categories of what was dangerous or polluting gave an insight into the group – for example, you could see the social hierarchy at play by knowing the rules of who was dirty and who could dirty whom. Yet, these are symbolic relations that may not express actual relations and they are constantly evolving (Douglas 1966:4).

Taboo is not necessarily a matter of a separation between dirt or uncleanness and the holy or sacred. A better division may be between those things subject to restriction and those that are not (Douglas 1966:8). This way taboo was not a matter of translation but rather one of depth of meaning or contextualization of meaning. Douglas (1966) used the example of Hindu concepts of holiness and unholiness. These are relative rather than opposing terms. The affect of a holy person or object will vary depending on who or where you are in relation to it. She said that it is one thing to look at the side effect of actions – such as people washing their hands for religious purity before they eat, which may also help to prevent sickness – and another to use those as an explanation (Douglas 1966:30). In the discussion of *tapu* among Onuku participants below, we will see that there are instances of such categorizations.

Like Radcliffe-Brown and Douglas, Roger Keesing (1985) considers taboo as a matter of perception. Keesing is especially concerned with situations where bits and pieces of knowledge have been made by anthropologists to seem a coherent whole. The concept of *mana* is an example to illustrate this claim. *Mana* originally meant, in Oceanic languages, to be efficacious, true,

realized, and/or potent (Keesing 1985:203). This potency carried the implication that *mana* was the result of the blessing or protection of the ancestors or other spirits. But over time, Keesing suggests, *mana* seems to have become a kind of invisible substance that one can acquire from spirits. These seemingly small differences are significant when trying to describe a part of a group's belief system. It's not just a matter of being wrong; it's a matter of culture being created by academics (Keesing 1985:202). Because of the lack of original texts on these types of concepts it is difficult to know where to draw the line between the original and the more recently academically created meanings.

Through his linguistic studies of the word *tapu* Keesing looks to redefine the term as 'off-limits'. Sahlins (as cited in Keesing 1985:205) argues that the Hawaiian 'kapu' has become secularized because it is now written on fences to indicate 'no trespassing.' Keesing (1985:205) states that he can find no better metaphor for *tapu* than a fence prohibiting access. This allows the term to be talked about in more realistic forms just as it is used – a parent telling a child something is *tapu* or a man knowing a menstrual hut is *tapu* – and avoids the seeming contradiction that others have previously noted between the concepts of sacredness and pollution. Another problem with defining *tapu* as a kind of sacredness is that it implies an absoluteness that is non-contextual – which neglects an important aspect of the term. Redefining *tapu* allows the implication of an agent, a perspective, and a context (Keesing 1985:204).

Anthropological accounts of *Tapu* in New Zealand

Historically for Maori, *tapu* was explained along the lines of danger and pollution – from the head of the *rangatira*, which was sacred, to the latrine, which was polluted (Best 1924). In some respects, *tapu* is still thought about in these terms in some contexts. *Urupa*, people of high standing, food gathering sites, dead bodies and many other things fall under various categories of *tapu*. If the rules surrounding any of these situations were broken there were consequences ranging from illness to death.

The oldest anthropological material on Maori *tapu* is from Elsdon Best (1924). Although considered by some as *the* authority on historic Maori culture, Best wrote from a 'salvage anthropology' framework. As an amateur ethnographer, Best was not theoretically informed. Yet, he was fluent in Maori language and custom, which gave him a great capacity to listen and understand the more subtle points he was told. This also allowed him to transcribe information as it was told to him, rather than working with translators or second hand material. His collections were

primarily with individual Tuhoe respondents with whom he had long standing relationships. At that time, the modern viewpoint was that colonists would bring new life to their new lands, replacing the indigenous inhabitants. This was part of the contemporary belief in the evolution of humanity from 'savage' to 'civilization' (Holman 2006). Therefore, Best's agenda was to record as much about Maori culture as possible before it disappeared.

As for *tapu*, Best (1924) said that *tapu* illness was due to the displeasure of a spirit or god who was connected with the site or object on which *tapu* had been placed and then broken. It was up to the *tohunga* (priest) to bring the person back into the good graces of the spirit through ritual to lift the illness. The *tohunga* was able to conduct these rituals because of the strength of their own *tapu*.

According to Best (1924) *tapu* laws were pervasive throughout Maori society before colonization. *Tapu* guarded the boundaries between what was dangerous and what was neutral (Rosenfeld 1999:30). They were used as a method of control by telling the people where they could go, where they could plant or hunt, and to whom they should show respect. This respect included the land in each *iwi*'s area, as they named landforms for powerful ancestors to tie them to their locality. To Maori, the fact that their ancestors were placed on, and in, the land gave them the right to be there and the right to manage their resources. It was the land that fed them and gave them spiritual ties through myth (Pawson 1999:30). So *tapu*, in this case, involved a relationship between people, their ancestors and the land, and equated, as discussed in Chapter Two, a claim to recognition and ownership.

The usual perspective that early European writers in New Zealand took on *tapu* was similar to those suggested by writers such as Freud and Frazer, though often with less claim to science. Calder (1993:78), in his analysis of Maning's *Old New Zealand*, showed that *tapu* was contextualized so that it was analogous to superstition in Europe. This allowed Maning and his readers to claim objectivity and to see the prohibitions as a system of restraints. Maning wrote about *tapu* in a manner that presented it as farcical, stating that the only real use of it was to protect an individual's private property, even though he had little knowledge of Maori notions of ownership. This conceptualization allowed Pakeha readers to disregard or ignore these restrictions. At the same time, by saying that *tapu* was for the protection of private property, Maning was able to falsely assert that Maori notions of private property were similar to those of Pakeha at the time. In the case

of Takapuneke, Mayor Bob Parker stated¹: “the site’s *tapu* status has no special value in contemporary society. The site’s economic worth is the primary concern.” This shows that the BPDC’s view of landscape, in the Takapuneke case at least, continued in 2004 to be a utilitarian one based on economic value without being influenced by the Maori worldview that endows the site with cultural value. Though the value of the site was shifting at this time (as we saw in Chapter Three), it was yet to be fully recognized as a cultural object based on its non-material value.

In New Zealand, there was also a notion of *tapu* as being marked, either by red ochre or a personal item such as hair that gave a site its *tapu*. By placing *tapu*, the person left the power in the hands of their *atua*², who were the agents of enforcement (Shortland 2001:44). At the same time, marking an area in such a way made a distinct claim of ownership for that group or person as well as indicating a separate category of person in those that are able to make such claims recognized by others. Furthermore, this indicated that *tapu* was a communicated idea, meaning that a person had to be told that something was *tapu* or even that they had broken a *tapu*. However this was communicated, through being told or by marking a site with a post or some such other object, it showed that *tapu* was not automatically known, not something that could be felt without prior knowledge of the place, person, or object. In this way, value in the form of *tapu* was invested in those things through the communication and the resulting behaviors that surrounded those places, people, or objects. As we saw in the last chapter, Onuku *Runanga* had been diligently ‘marking’ Takapuneke as *tapu* by communicating that fact through their narrative.

To escape accidentally breaking *tapu* or transmitting it to others when traveling, Maori used to carry cooked food, which was *noa* (free from *tapu*), to ward off *atua* (gods) (Shortland 2001:53). The rationalization was that *atua* were found only in *tapu* places, but if cooked food was carried then the person remained *noa* and *atua* would ignore them. When traveling there would be almost no way for a person to know where *tapu* was laid, with the exception of places that were obviously marked. Carrying the cooked food as a protective agent against *tapu* allowed them to maintain their belief in *tapu* and, at the same time, defend themselves against it.

Yet, according to the economic anthropologist Raymond Firth this behavior makes sense. Unlike Freud and his contemporaries, Firth had first hand fieldwork knowledge of Maori culture and

¹ Interview – October 2004.

² The gods responsible for the creation of the universe

practice. By the time of his fieldwork, anthropological theory was flourishing under the work of people like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. As a student of Malinowski, Firth's thought was based on functionalism and became known as formalism. While still holistic, the theory links behavior with a practical cost and benefit analysis (Spencer 1996:242). Even though Firth was theoretically informed, he was less fluent in Maori, which left him somewhat reliant on written sources and unable to report with the same directness as researchers at this time like Best.

Firth considered that even though *tapu* was usually placed in a magical framework, *tapu* laws had a direct effect on behaviors such as trade and work and was therefore a practical consideration (Firth 1972:245). For example, *atua* are each associated with specific aspects of the world. The forest, for instance, is under *tapu* from the *atua* Tane. Only after Tane was placated and the *tapu* nullified could forest resources be gathered or used. This kept the average person from damaging valuable property such as a tree that had been planned for a *waka* or house. The rules of *tapu* allowed powerful people who planned for the well being of *iwi*, *hapu*, or *whanau* to set aside those resources that would be necessary for future consumption. Considered from this perspective, *tapu* does not come from the mythological mind but from practical notion of importance placed on resources on which Maori relied for their existence (Firth 1972). Therefore, as Radcliffe-Brown (1952) stated, *tapu* acts as recognition of social value and ownership. Items that required a larger communal investment such as important *waka*, meeting houses, or eel weirs had a stronger *tapu* than everyday or personal *tapu* restrictions.

We can see this in a historical example of the construction of a large fishing net (Firth 1972:248). While being put together, the net itself and the materials that were going into its construction, the people working on the net, and the shore around the work area all became *tapu*. This net had a high social value because of its potential to harness resources for the group. The recognition of this social value was expressed through the group's energy being put into completing the task while ensuring that there was no interference with the net or the work. By saying that these things were *tapu*, Maori were able to regulate their behavior and protect specific resources. "From this point of view its essence is seen to consist in a standardization through tradition of valuable emotional attitudes largely of conscious kind towards objects of cultural importance" (Firth 1972:252).

Firth (1972) contends that *tapu* objects such as meeting houses retained their *tapu* even after *tapu* lifting rituals were performed. These rituals, such as a *whakanoa*³ rite, removed the *tapu* just enough to allow people to use the space. The ‘removal’ of *tapu* from the Greens Point land exemplifies this point. Though the section of land was freed from *tapu* by a *whakanoa* ceremony performed by a local *tohunga* from Christchurch, the land itself remained *tapu* to the Onuku community because it is part of the larger Takapuneke site that represented the massacre and burial site of their ancestors.

To relate this back to social value, *tapu*-lifting rites did not remove or change the social value or any resulting claims of ownership of an object or person. In fact, performing the ritual enforced the social value of an object or person through the performance by marking the *tapu* thing as one needing attention. However, there is a metaphysical explanation for this ongoing *tapu*. Shirres (1994) says there are two types of *tapu*, a primary and a secondary one. The secondary meaning of *tapu* is the common definition of ‘forbidden’ and ‘restricted’. This meaning is linked to the idea that if *tapu* is broken then there will be negative consequences. Most of the research done on *tapu* has dealt with this meaning of *tapu* and the subsequent rules that affect the behavior of individuals who say they believe in the concept. The primary meaning of *tapu* is further differentiated into two types – ‘practical’ and ‘faith’ based (Shirres 1994).

Practical *tapu* involves having the individual potential power, or *mana*, to act. Faith based *tapu* is founded on the belief in the *mana* of the spiritual powers. *Mana* comes from the people, the land and the *atua*. It is the realization of the *tapu* of a person or *atua* (Shirres 1994:5). The people in question here are living family members but also the ancestors who are always a source of power through *whakapapa*⁴. A person is tied to land through their ancestors but also through the burial of the *whenua*⁵ and *pito*⁶. The *atua* are the immediate source of *mana* and *tapu* at birth and through dedication after birth or later in life. A person is born with a certain amount of *tapu* that never changes. According to Rev. Maori Marsden, speaking from a Tai Tokerau (i.e. northern Maori) perspective, this *tapu* comes from a particular deity to which each individual is dedicated. From the point of dedication, that person is set aside for the use of the deity (Royal 2003:5). *Mana*, however,

³ A ceremony to remove secondary *tapu* as explained below.

⁴ Genealogy, cultural identity

⁵ Placenta, ground, country

⁶ Please see (<http://homepages.ihug.co.nz/~dominic/intro.html> n.d.). In Maori a *pito* is an umbilical cord.

is realized over time. A person may be born with a certain amount of *mana* due to *whakapapa*, but how that is strengthened or weakened is shown through behavior and deed throughout their lifetime.

For Maori, the power behind *tapu* comes from the children of Papatuanuku (Papa) and Ranginui (Rangi)⁷. For the most part, *iwi* versions of the separation of Papa and Rangi are similar with the exception of who has power over humans (Shirres 1994:7). In the North Island, Tuu is often the *atua* of humans whereas in the South Island it is Tane. The items that the *atua* are responsible for, such as the sea, fern root, humans, and the wind, have ‘intrinsic’ *tapu* – they are *tapu* in and of themselves because of their direct relation to the *atua* (see Figure 4.1) (Shirres 1994). This *tapu* cannot be removed. When you break *tapu* you are challenging the *mana* of an *atua*. Firth discussed this type of inherent *tapu* when talking about the social value of meeting houses noted above. In this instance, social value and the inherency of *tapu* seem to play similar roles.

This means that everything in existence has intrinsic *tapu*. *Mana*, too, begins with existence and has its source in the ancestors and spiritual powers. Shirres (1994:10) explains:

The difference between *tapu* and *mana* is also related to ‘being’. A thing has its full *mana*, is fully powerful, when it has its full ‘being’, when it is fully alive, fully active. *Mana* is the power of being, a power that is realized over time. On the other hand a thing has its full *tapu* as soon as it begins to exist. What its *tapu* is related, not to what it is, but to what it can become. The child who is of chiefly line has not yet the *mana*, the power, of a chief, but already has the *tapu* of a chief. *Tapu* is being with potentiality for power... *Tapu* itself, meaning by this, being with potentiality for power (*mana*), is our greatest possession.

Again, a person is born with a specific amount of *tapu* that will not change. *Mana*, on the other hand, starts at a certain level due to the individual’s ancestors and can become stronger or weaker, depending on the individual’s actions throughout their life. If they are a good leader then they will gain *mana*. If they behave in a disrespectful manner then they can lose *mana*.

⁷ There are many versions of the Maori creation story involving *Papa* and *Rangi*. The version related here is a Te Arawa version that can be found in Shirres 1994:6. Briefly *Papa*, the earth, and *Rangi*, the sky, were pressed tightly together with their children, the *atua*, between them. At one point the *atua* decided that they wanted to separate their parents and escape. One of the *atua* (this varies according to the version) pushed the parents apart and the *atua* escaped into the world, which was made of *Papa*’s body. As each *atua* moved into the world they took on the responsibility of certain elements of the landscape, fighting each other for dominance.

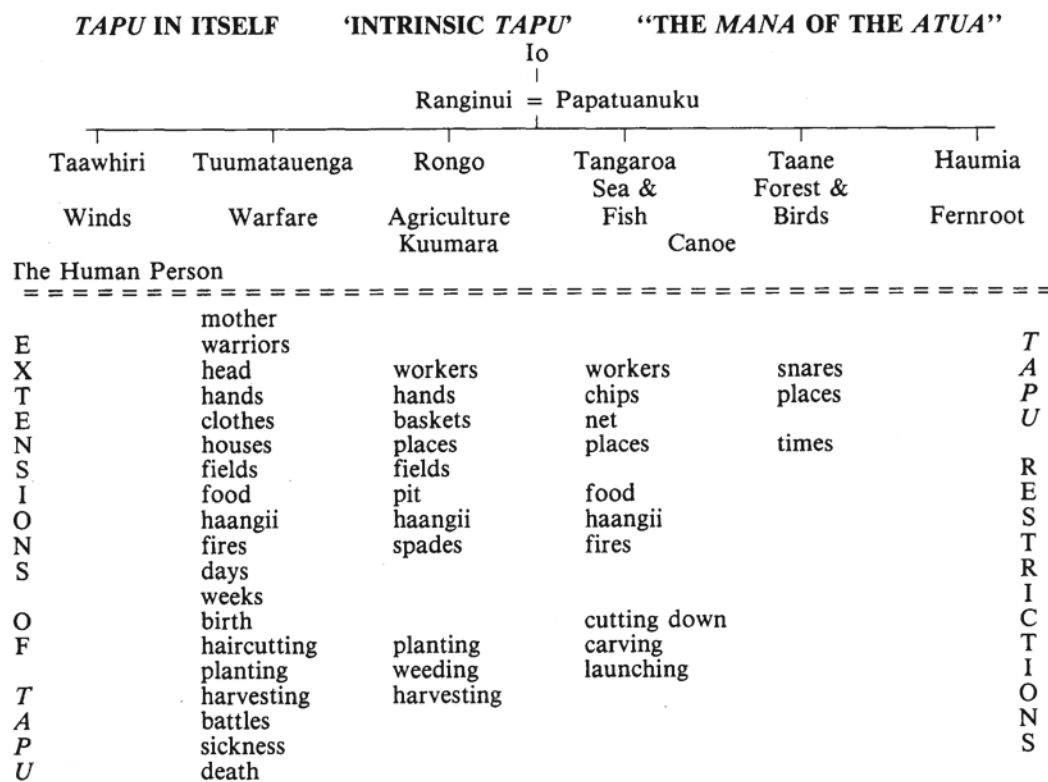


Figure 4.1: Tapu Chart (Shirres 1994:8)

According to Shirres (1994:12) *tapu* restrictions are necessary because there are consequences when any two things meet due to their intrinsic *tapu*. Restrictions regulate the meeting of different *tapu*. This is also the case for *noa*. *Noa* is not opposed to the concept of *tapu*, but to the restrictions put upon objects or places (Henare 1988:19). To use Shirres' conceptualization, *noa* is opposed only to the *extensions* of *tapu* instead of the *tapu* itself. Therefore, *tapu* and *noa* are not negations of each other; they are simply opposites (Henare 1988).

When objects with *tapu* of equal strength meet there are no negative consequences because, in a sense, they cancel each other out – each becoming *noa* equally (Shirres 1994:13). When one *tapu* overpowers another, the object with lower *tapu* becomes ineffective. This is a negative consequence because, for the object with lower *tapu*, it signifies a loss of connection with the *atua* (Shirres 1994). For example, when you visit a *marae*, both the host and the visitors are *tapu*. The visitors are greeted and acknowledged which creates a state of *noa* without the loss of *tapu*. If one of the hosts were then to insult one of the visitors, the visitor would lose their *tapu* (assuming the host's *tapu* is stronger) and have a loss of power. Instead of being equals, the host would then be dominant over

the visitor. This danger has been noted as so prevalent that some older generations are reluctant to pass on their knowledge of *tapu* things (King 1975). As we shall see below, the participants from Onuku did not express this level of sophistication on the concept of *tapu*. However, their understanding of the term allowed them to emphasize it in a way that was beneficial to their goal of protecting Takapuneke.

Hohepa Kereopa, a Tuhoe *tohunga*, has a similar, but perhaps more radical, feeling about *tapu*. He asked Paul Moon to interview him extensively on the issues of being a *tohunga* because it seemed worse to lose the knowledge by keeping it to himself rather than have it written down (Moon 2003). One complication of passing *tapu* knowledge is that the knowledge itself loses a degree of its *tapu*-ness through making it so available. As more people acquire the knowledge it moves closer to being *noa*. If the knowledge were to become *noa*, the connection with the *atua* would be lost.

Hohepa says that *tapu* is in people's minds – “All *tapu* is...is a way to control people” (Moon 2003:79). It had its practical prohibitions – do not pass food over someone's head, for instance, after all you may spill something hot on them. Furniture is for the purpose it was made – a table was for setting things on and eating. It was not made for sitting on. A bed is for sleeping, not eating. This idea of *tapu* helps people to respect their things and take good care of them (Moon 2003). The problem with this idea is that some people would try to make everything *tapu*. But Hohepa says that this is a play for power and control and has nothing to do with respect (Moon 2003). We will see that many of Hohepa's considerations are similar to some of the Onuku participants' conceptualizations of *tapu*.

Tapu in the Contemporary World

There are a growing number of circumstances in the contemporary world where Maori concepts have become part of the operational life of government and non-governmental organizations. These organizations have taken on an obligation to respect Maori values and incorporate these into their mandates and styles of working. To do so, it is necessary for them to have a thorough understanding of how these concepts are defined and how they fit together. I will discuss their construction of *wahi tapu* in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, a recent academic treatment of Maori concepts can be found in *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Maori Culture and Society* (Ka'ai et al. 2004). This book uses an amalgamation of

social science and historical writings to explain concepts such as *tapu*, which is listed as one of the primary cultural concepts for Maori along with the concepts of *noa* and *mana*. It is these concepts, the introduction notes, from which all other concepts within Maori culture can be understood (Ka'ai et al. 2004). This book can be seen as a response to the challenge of training and equipping policy makers and administrators who are involved with implementing these concepts in their work. This volume aims to help these traditional concepts to find a place in the modern world.

The authors' explanation of *tapu* follows the idea of inherent *tapu* as discussed above and its connection with the *mana* of *atua*. The authors define *tapu* as:

...a term describing the influence of *atua* within the universe and over all things animate (people, insects, animals) and inanimate (mountains, rivers, waka). It also relates to a system of protective prohibitions or restrictions which control relationships between entities (people, land, environment) and their respective expressions of *tapu* (Ka'ai et al 2004:18).

But to explain the notion of *tapu* they return to Best (as quoted in Ka'ai et al 2004:15):

The system of *tapu* was a series of prohibitions, and its influence was very far-reaching – so much so that it entered into all activities of native life. The laws of *tapu* affected all crises of life – birth, marriage, sickness, death, burial, exhumation; all industries; and no person in the community was exempt from its stringent rules. To disregard those rules meant disaster to the individual; but the punishment meted out to the transgressor was not inflicted by his fellow tribesman – it was imposed by the gods.

This work gives a broad understanding of *tapu* that encompasses much of what has been noted above. Yet, these explanations are firmly placed in the past without mentioning any relevance to, or use of, *tapu* by contemporary Maori. This account of *tapu* reads as a description of a historical practice that Maori have moved on from but could reassert, leaving an open question as to its worth as symbolic capital. Even so, this explanation gives us a picture into how *tapu* is conceived in current discourses of Maori culture and how it is used to bolster Maori identity.

Yet, there are contemporary examples of *tapu* that are being used in policy, such as the proposed regional policy statement of the Taranaki Regional Council (2006). The proposed policy uses the concepts of *tapu* and *noa* in reference to water policy. It lays out the idea that water is under the protection of *atua* and is, therefore, *tapu*. The concepts of *tapu* and *noa* help to ensure correct use of the resource. When necessary, some sections of a river, for example, may be *tapu*, which will restrict the activities that go on there. Yet, water that is available for everyday use such as drinking and washing would be considered *noa*. As long as the water is used in a respectful manner, balance

will remain in the environment, which is the local Maori environmental idea in Taranaki (Taranaki Regional Council 2006:31).

Another contemporary example is the Ngati Whakaue Education Strategy (<http://www.ngatiwhakaue.iwi.nz/education/strategy.html>, accessed Feb 8, 2007). This strategy was created to set a course for the future of Ngati Whakaue, an *iwi* on the North Island. Part of the strategy is to build self-governance, which includes a discussion on some of the key beliefs from the Maori world. *Tapu* is one of those concepts. The strategy aligns *tapu* with *mana*. Here, *tapu* is the ‘potential’ power of the individual, while *mana* represents the ‘actual’ power of the individual. This is important in building strength in the Ngati Whakaue community, as they emphasize the individual within the network of others that make up their community. The contemporary community connects to the ancestors, drawing strength from the past. As individuals realize their *tapu* and actualize their *mana*, the whole group benefits. The use of these concepts to help empower the Ngati Whakaue community shows that they can have a recognized place in contemporary life.

Tapu at Onuku Today

As Onuku *Runanga*’s narrative of Takapuneke is based on the concept of *tapu*, the way the Onuku community understands the concept affects their understanding and construction of the site. When asked to define *tapu*, participants at Onuku had some variance in their answers. While the majority of participants used one of two main focal points to describe *tapu* – these revolved around notions of sacredness and notions of practicality – the concept was not constructed consistently.

For the point of *tapu* as sacred, the definitions were direct. For instance, Hemi was a young man who worked with *pounamu* (greenstone) for a living. He grew up in Akaroa and lived there most of his life, close to Onuku and his relations. He had been working with *pounamu* for about six years in various shops around town, where he has created everything from necklaces to *mere* (a flat club made of *pounamu*). His definition of *tapu* was: “it means sacred – but not something to be scared of or even to avoid.”

Riomata was a returning student with three children. She had done extensive research on Maori culture and belief, both with her family and academically. She often spoke at the *marae* for visitors and events, as she had memorized the *whakapapa* and histories of her relations. Riomata had even

spoken to various organizations within UNESCO about Maori culture, traveling overseas to do so. She defined *tapu* thus: “it’s sacred. It’s alive and you have to give it space.”

Kiri, who was the Onuku *Runanga* secretary in Christchurch for a number of years, offered a third view on *tapu*. While she had lived in Christchurch for her entire adult life, she grew up in Akaroa and still spent almost every weekend at Onuku, visiting and working at events there. To her, *tapu* was a strong force that is “bigger than humanity”:

“Well, I guess it’s sacred. I’d define *tapu* as something really strong. Stronger than, its something that you’d never mess with because it’s something that’s bigger than anything that we have in society. It’s something that does make us ill. It’s something you just don’t mess with.”

Overall, their initial statement of “it’s sacred” is the typical definition that you might find anywhere in the Pacific region. But their qualifying statements after that claim point to their individual experiences with the concept. Participants often used the phrase “*tapu* is something...” after I asked the question, seemingly not sure what to call it exactly when referring to it in a spiritual manner. Participants almost always started this sentence and then began to oscillate between looking at me and the floor. Their looks did not seem to be of incomprehension, but rather a lack of appropriate language that would encompass their thoughts and feelings.

However, as Hemi mentioned above, they did not mention that this sense of sacredness was something to be feared as *tapu* has often been portrayed in the past. Fear of *tapu* was only mentioned by participants when talking of encountering *tapu*, through an object, place, or story, as a child. Riomata said of her childhood:

We’ve always been taught that it can hold on to us. We’re always taught as kids that it could grab our jerseys. So you’re told these little things to make you think. When you are walking out how sacred it is because you never mess with it. You never mess with *tapu* because it can make you very ill and very sick... Good way to remind kids because kids just jump over fences and knock all about. So that was one place we never went to without permission or without the respect was the *urupa*. We would trample around everywhere except the *urupa*. We would never go there. Bigger than police [laughs].

Mere had similar experiences as a child. Mere was twenty-two, a student at university and worked as a clerk in a shop in Akaroa. She grew up in town but had spent time at Onuku as well as at other *marae* around the Peninsula, depending on her friendships through her life. Mere was told that *tapu* “would get you if you acted bad. It was like a bogeyman. So we were always scared of it as kids.”

Nearly every participant had a story of being told not to go into the *urupa* because *tapu* would get you as if it were some kind of ‘bogeyman’. In these relations, participants saw *tapu* as an active, impersonal force that would not only protect itself but also possibly punish younger children if they disobeyed their elders. As adults, they recognized that it is helpful in curbing some behaviors in children, especially with regards to keeping children out of certain areas.

Many times participants at Onuku mentioned *tapu* in terms of respect. Uncle Paora⁸ was a respected *kaumatua* (elder). He grew up around Onuku and had lived around the Akaroa area for most of his life. He had more recently moved into Christchurch due to his work with several *iwi* groups including extensive work in the Onuku *Runanga* office, all of which kept him very busy. He explained it in this way:

You don’t drink there out of respect. You don’t eat because out of respect and you don’t drink either because out of respect of the place and when we walk off an *urupa*, we always wash ourselves with water or sprinkle ourselves with water so we leave the *tapu* or the sacredness of where we had just been there. We leave it there and we don’t take it with us.

Tapu was seen as a way to respect an object or place. Though not explicitly stated here, Uncle Paora’s focus for respect is based on the relationship between the land, the ancestors and the *atua* (gods). As Shirres (1994) explained above, *tapu* is intrinsically tied to various *atua*. To show respect at the *urupa* is to honor the ancestors, who tie Uncle Paora and others in the Onuku community to the land, but also to the *atua* that are responsible for the land and *tangata whenua* (local people). By knowing or being told that something was *tapu*, participants knew to show it respect, even if they did not know the particular history of the *tapu*. Participants claimed that if something was *tapu* then the object or place was worthy of respect, showing that it had a history or importance due to its connection to their ancestors and the *atua* that should be noticed and upheld. Hemi said that for him: “When I was a kid everything *tapu* was something to fear, but now with an understanding of what *tapu* is, I know that if you respect it, it won’t hurt you.” To illustrate this point, he gave an example of finding *pounamu*, which he worked with daily:

Now I go out and find a piece of greenstone. I will pick it up – before I wouldn’t because I was scared. But now I have respect for it. It is a part of me through my ancestors and we all share the same *mauri* (life force) so as long as I have that respect it won’t hurt me.

⁸ I will refer to some participants by name and others with Uncle or Auntie and their name. This convention is based on age and relation. When not related by ancestry, the category was based on age and familiarity, although age here was an undetermined boundary. For the people in this study, I tended to use the term for people that were in their sixties or above and with whom I had generally spoken with more than three times.

Because of his confidence in his respect for his ancestors, his fear of *tapu* on greenstone was gone. Part of this was because he felt that the greenstone was a part of him through his *whakapapa* in the area and through the work he did. Working with greenstone helped to show respect to both his ancestry and the *atua* by making beautiful objects. As long as he acknowledged those ancestors that came before and maintained his respect, he believed that there would be no ill consequences from his actions. So, here we see how fear was replaced with respect as people became adults as a way to acknowledge an item or place as *tapu*.

Having lived at Onuku his entire life, Tipene, a middle-aged man, knew the *marae* well. He worked as the handyman/groundskeeper around Onuku and in Akaroa. One of his duties was to mow the grass at part of Takapuneke and the two *urupa* at Onuku. He said: “I don’t get sick or hurt from riding that mower over those places, the *urupa*. [The ancestors] know I’m there to take care of them. They know I’m not there to hurt them or with no respect.” Here mowing the grass and keeping the area looking tidy was seen as a mode of respect for the land and the ancestors, so Tipene was protected by his actions and the way he did them.

The ancestors hadn’t always accepted motorized vehicles, like the mower, as respectful. One of the *urupa* was next to the road going through Onuku. When events took place at Onuku, people came from all over and the area was crowded with vehicles. In the past, before a fence was erected, people would park on the edge of the road that was also the edge of the *urupa*.



Figure 4.2: Road leading into Onuku.⁹

Tipene said:

Before that fence was put up. Before it went up, people would sometimes park on the Ngati Mamoe *urupa* on the side there. And after we were done, their cars wouldn't start. Things like that. We had to push them down the road a bit to get them to catch, down in the other park area, over the bridge. Sometimes we would leave it and it would start on its own after it's moved.

The idea was that the ancestors buried there would react against the disrespectful action of parking a vehicle in their space out of convenience. It was an insult to their *mana*. To show their anger, the ancestors would sap the battery of its spark. This was an explanation of an active *tapu* in the form of ancestor spirits that are watchful of the action taken in their space. If the ancestors perceived the action as respectful to them, their *mana*, and their space then there were no harmful consequences, as with the mower. However, if the action that took place was perceived as disrespectful then some

⁹ The Ngati Mamoe *urupa* is located in the trees on the right side. Here you can also see the *wharehau* (center) and the kitchens (white building to the left). The little Church is up in the background, just visible behind a bush.

action was taken to show that displeasure as a way to defend their *mana*. There was no mention of any harmful action, i.e. sickness or death, other than the temporary car malfunction.

The connection between *mana* and *tapu* was often indistinct among participants. The importance of one over the other was rarely clear to any one participant. Hemi stated:

You have to have *mana* to have *tapu* because to have *mana* the people need to be behind you, you need to have everyone's respect and trust. If you have that then you can make decisions with force because everyone will agree and that decision will hold. So if you have *mana* then your *tapu* will be strong. If you have no *mana* your *tapu* is weak because no one will respect it and it will have no power over anyone. If I put *tapu* on something no one would care but if a great chief did it, then people would listen. It's all about respect to have power.

To relate this back to Firth and ownership, those people with power can make legitimate claims that will be recognized by others. Those without social standing in society have no way to legitimate their claim to a specific place or resource. Following Strathern from Chapter Two, *Mana* and *tapu* therefore imply the ability to be an 'owner', or guardian, to use the more appropriate Maori term.

Auntie Ruiha had a different way of seeing it: "You may have great *tapu* and have no *mana* or you may have strong *mana* but very little or no *tapu*. Now, in this [contemporary] world one does not come from the other." Auntie Ruiha is a *kaumatua* at Onuku who had written several informational tracts on historical aspects of the *marae*. She was very involved in several *kaumatua* groups and national Maori groups. While living in Christchurch due to the 'convenience of town', she grew up in Akaroa and spent as much of her time at Onuku as she could, which tended to be the majority of her weekends. Her limitation on going out was based on her not driving. So, she relied on one of her four adult children or her grandchildren to drive her. While doing research I also drove Auntie Ruiha 'over home' to Onuku many times. She explained her understanding of *mana/tapu* this way: "You may be highly regarded in the community [*mana*] and still not be able to make places or things *tapu*. The community no longer fears those in power and so we don't have to listen like we used to when those people make decisions." The implication is that in the past *mana* and *tapu* were related to one's *whakapapa*. Yet, according to Auntie Ruiha and other participants, the value of that connection was no longer recognized.

However, the idea that *tapu* could possibly make you ill was still prevalent among the participants who view *tapu* as primarily sacred. Auntie Huhana was a woman born and raised at Onuku, who

lived in Akaroa and worked for several local boards mostly focusing on education. She said: “*Tapu* can still make you sick. You may not know it for awhile, but it will get you in the end.” This could happen if you did not use proper behavior in conjunction with *tapu* things or places. Riomata said: “You never mess with *tapu* because it can make you very ill and very sick. So if you walk out of an *urupa* without washing yourself and it can grab onto you and make you sick. So we always did. We always washed ourselves.” The idea here was that if you touched a *tapu* object or place then you became *tapu* (‘it can grab onto you’). To rid yourself of the *tapu*, you simply had to go through the proper method of removal – ‘washing yourself’, which meant to wash your hands and/or face or to sprinkle water over your head. If you did not go through the proper methods of getting rid of the *tapu* (‘washing yourself’) then you ran the risk of being affected by it. Although when participants spoke in terms of respect above, *tapu* was associated with ancestors and *atua*, here we can see that it is often referred to as an impersonal force – as in ‘it’ (*tapu*) will get you, rather than ‘they’ (the ancestors or the *atua*) will get you.

An example I was given by Uncle Paora had to do with photographs. Photographs of individuals who have died were *tapu* as they are representations of the dead. The dead are consistently thought of as *tapu*. Such photos could be placed in the *wharenui* (meeting house) or anywhere where there were only photographs of those that have died and that weren’t used for everyday activities. Uncle Paora said:

you never put a picture of a live person and where you have a dead person, because that can cause really bad *tapu*. That can cause for the person who is alive to be dead. To die. So that is how sacred *tapu* was – it could kill you. That’s why you fear it and respect it. It can come back at you. It can make you very ill.

It could also cause harm to have them in an area where life was affirmed – a place where people ate for instance. There was usually a clear separation of the dead and the living. However, when asking Auntie Huhana about this while in the dining hall, she showed me a large picture of one of the grandmothers from several generations ago. The dining hall was named after her and the picture of the grandmother hung above the door to the kitchen. Auntie Huhana said:

Look at grannie’s photo. Where Mark¹⁰ put it up there. In the dining room. He just put it up there because he doesn’t know any better. But nothing was done about it. It should never be in that room because that is where we eat. But nobody’s been hurt by it and so it stays. It should be in the *wharenui* itself. We’re probably lucky to get it and he didn’t have a ceremony about it, just put it up and it was there.

¹⁰ Mark had moved away from the area and I was unable to interview him concerning this incident.

In the end, she said that it often bothered her that it was still there, but no one else ever commented on it, so she left the issue alone. Technically, she said, it should not be in this room. Here we see a variation in how people understand *tapu*. We also see a reluctance to ‘make a fuss’ over an object that is important for Onuku *marae* to have. While it was an improper place to hang the picture in the opinions of a few participants, like Auntie Huhana and Auntie Ruiha, no one else seemed to mind or to consider it. While it still ‘bothered’ them, it had no ill affects on them or on others that they could discern.

Although getting sick or dying were the most common outcomes of breaking *tapu* in the past, participants claimed that it was possible to be affected by breaking *tapu* rules in other negative ways. Tipene said: “Sometimes, I think of something I did long ago and that’s why I can’t have luck anymore. Or when I couldn’t find work.” These were often postponed outcomes – things that happened much later, perhaps even years after the rule had been broken. Auntie Ruiha, a very practical woman, said: “They wouldn’t remember though if something did happen. Oh, that’s why such and such happened. No not for me – it doesn’t work like that. I’m fairly immune to it.” Examples given by participants included things such as losing one’s job, breaking up a relationship, losing money, and having an accident (with or without bodily harm). It was always through a mode of personal loss to the *tapu* breaker that the outcomes were expressed. Their disregard for the rules or respect led directly to their loss, whether they remember breaking the rule or not.

Breaching a *tapu* such as sitting on a table was usually talked about as leading only to sickness. Mere said:

There are many different things about *tapu* like not putting your *kumu*, your bottom, on the table because it’s where you eat. Stuff like that can just make you sick, but if you put like a photo of a live person in a room with a dead person. That could be really bad and that could cause death.

This type of categorization is in accordance with Douglas’ views that polluting behaviour has to do with the avoiding the confusion of categories, here ‘alive’ and ‘dead’ being the categories. Yet, others linked some of these kinds of *tapu* rules with the practical conception of *tapu*. In reference to sitting on a table, Auntie Ruiha said: “it’s just ‘cause you had food on it. Or a cup of tea. So it’s no place to sit. You have chairs to sit on.” In other words, it was just a ‘dirty habit’ to sit on a table. I

was warned early on, with some disdain, that I would be considered stupid and disrespectful if I were to sit on a table.

This practical side of *tapu* was to also warn people of physical pollution – latrines, contamination of food, and dead bodies. In reference to the dead, Auntie Huhana told me:

Land, where the person who looked after the dead, got them ready for burial, that person had a *tapu* place, house, and was not allowed to join in with the rest of the community. And I think a lot of those old things, like a lot of, like the person looking after people who have died, will be forgotten. I've laid out lots and lots of folks and didn't do that [separate herself from the community]. There was nothing *tapu* about it according to me or according to others. So those sorts of things are gone.

The point here was that in the past the dead were dangerous to the people because of physical contamination, but was conceptualized through spiritual contamination. Now that the deceased were prepared and buried with modern techniques, the threat of contamination had disappeared and so had the idea of it being *tapu*.

For me, this begged the question of how a person knows where *tapu* was placed. Participants again dichotomized this question into spiritual and practical categories. Those who spoke of *tapu* in a spiritual light mentioned that *tapu* was something that you could feel. Hemi said: “You can feel it. It's something that is there and it's not a scary feeling but a feeling of something there, an awareness maybe. Sometimes you pick something up and you feel the *mauri* in it and you know it's *tapu*.” His relation was more about *tapu* being a feeling that raised your awareness of what you were doing. This was where respectful behavior came in as a way to mediate *tapu*. As long as you remained respectful when encountering *tapu*, then you would not come to harm.

On the practical side, it was expressed that someone must tell you that a thing or place was *tapu*. It had to be marked in some way – usually through communication, as noted above. Tipene said: “I think the *tapu* really is only there if people know it is there and believe it to be there.” Without the transmission of knowledge of what is *tapu*, a person, according to the practical aspect, would have no knowledge of where it would lie. However, I was told stories to the contrary.

One related story was about the highway that runs from Christchurch to Akaroa. Just beyond the turn off to Birdling's Flat/Kaitorete Spit there was a sharp curve in the road. Originally the road was

supposed to be further in, cutting through the hillside. If driving, you could see where the hillside had been dug about halfway through. Hemi said that the reason for this was:

The first crew all got sick, so they held off until they started getting better and then their machines wouldn't work and the people kept getting sick again. They kept digging up all these bones. Turns out there were many chiefs buried up there looking out to sea. And [the workers] were breaking that *tapu*, so when they saw that and finally realized, they went around the hill instead of through it.

According to Hemi, there were no problems after that decision was made. He also made sure to emphasize that many of these workers were Pakeha and had no notions of *tapu*.

However, it wasn't only Pakeha that had these experiences; people in the Onuku community were subject to those instances of unknown *tapu*, as well. Kiri related a story about a man from Onuku:

one guy here found a piece of *pounamu* where they used to bury umbilical cords. He got real achy and had fevers. And no one knew what was wrong. He hadn't told anyone that he had found the *pounamu*. Doctor's came and couldn't figure it out. Finally he told them and they took it back, blessed him and he got better after that.

In this and other stories I was told, I noticed that people did not die, but only got sick or had some small misfortune. When asked about this Auntie Ruiha said: "That doesn't happen anymore. You have some who still believe very firmly in it. You have others who could care less about it, don't know about it, and don't want to know about it. It's the same with anything."

In thinking about how people get to 'know about it', I found that books were an important method of acquiring knowledge of *tapu* for participants, both in the form of reading histories and social science works written by academics, including Best. These are usually essays and histories of specific people or on specific topics, including the meaning of *tapu*. The most recommended text was *Tikao Talks* by Teone Taare Tikao and Herries Beattie (1990). This text is based on a series of conversations between Tikao, noted as perhaps the last *tohunga* in the Akaroa area, and Beattie, who was somewhat of an amateur anthropologist and historian. The conversations took place at Tikao's request. Like Hohepa Kereopa, he wanted to make sure that some of his knowledge was recorded.

This text is pertinent to this study because the events that Tikao describes took place, for the most part, in the Akaroa area. Tikao's family was almost wiped out at Takapuneke by Te Rauparaha. His relatives were taken as slaves aboard the Brig *Elizabeth* and it was his uncle, John Love, who later

signed the Treaty when it arrived in Onuku. Tikao also helped to build the small church at Onuku (Tikao 1990).

In the book, Tikao defined *tapu* as consecrated or sacred (Tikao 1990:71). Often the consequence for breaking *tapu*, he wrote, in instances such as trespassing was death. He related many stories about what used to be *tapu* – in the days before Pakeha came to the country. Those rules were no longer effective, he explained. Since the arrival of Pakeha, he told Beattie, *tapu* had disappeared. He also wrote that the Christian Gospel had a hand in abolishing *tapu* and *mana* (Tikao 1990). Previously *tapu* barriers had socially divided highborn chiefs and ordinary people but the gospel had broken these barriers and made them equal. He wrote that in the past it was not possible to talk about *tapu* and eat at the same time. To prove his case against the effectiveness of *tapu*, he ate and smoked his pipe while speaking with Beattie and did not get ill. This was adequate proof to Tikao that *tapu* was gone (Tikao 1990).

The participants who suggested this book as an introduction to *tapu* seem to accept Tikao's definition and stories of *tapu* but not his assumption that it had completely disappeared, though they did admit that its strength and effectiveness had lessened. Auntie Ruiha said: "*Tikao Talks* says there used to be things that were *tapu* and they were no longer *tapu* because once Europeans came they took that all away, they took it away because they did things that were, you know we said you might die if you did that and they found that they didn't die." Riomata supported this notion: "He said it is gone. It's not gone, not completely gone, but it's not as, it doesn't apply as much." Again, the prospect of dying from breaking a rule of *tapu* was mentioned to me only in reference to photographs, though this had never happened to anyone's knowledge.

While most of the rules for not breaking *tapu* were general knowledge – not eating or drinking on *tapu* land and washing after you go to a *tapu* place, there was one other rule that was mentioned specifically for Takapuneke: not going there. Auntie Ruiha said it this way: "Land is not always *tapu*. So, land is not special *tapu*. There are parts of the land, of course, that are always *tapu*, but they don't change – the *urupa*, the cemetery. But it is different with a place like Takapuneke because there was a massacre there. It's very *tapu*." When asked about Takapuneke, Riomata said, "you should not walk on it at all. Especially at Takapuneke, because you don't know where people are." As you do not know where the bodies (or ashes) are located, walking on the site would contaminate you with *tapu* and would be disrespectful. However, a visit to a cemetery where bodies

were in known locations is acceptable, but you are meant to, at least, wash your hands or sprinkle yourself with water afterward. The point here is that the land is *tapu* due to its connection to the ancestors buried therein and to break the *tapu* rules was to disrespect them.

We can see that at Onuku, the concept of *tapu* was somewhat variable. People talked about *tapu* both as associated with the ancestors and as an impersonal force. Yet, few were able to express clearly what it was or where it was, except for places like Takapuneke, *urupa* and more everyday places like *wharenuī*. In particular, it is the formation of *tapu* as associated with the ancestors that was applied to Takapuneke by Onuku *Runanga*, which was often voiced through the term respect. Participants knew that those were *tapu* places and that there were rules regarding your behavior when you were there – no food or drink, wash your hands or sprinkle water on yourself when you leave. This was how of the concept of *tapu* survived in the Onuku community. The *Runanga* used the notion of *tapu* to construct a narrative based on the cultural value of the site of Takapuneke as *tapu*; *tapu* was the reason the site was considered important. The *Runanga*'s method of constructing and promoting this value was, in part, through *kaitiakitanga*. *Kaitiakitanga* was another means by which the *Runanga* invests the site with value and makes a claim to 'ownership' of the site.

Kaitiakitanga at Onuku

Kaitiaki is generally defined as 'guardian'. Marsden (Royal 2003:67) states that while the term *tiaki* generally means 'to guard' it can also mean "to keep, to foster, to protect, to shelter, to keep watch over".¹¹ In the *Resource Management Act 1991* *kaitiakitanga* is often defined as 'stewardship'. Marsden claims that this is inappropriate as stewardship means to guard someone else's property. Further, stewardship also has connotations of ownership (in the Western sense of exclusive possession and use) and private, individual property, both of which were foreign concepts to Maori before contact with Europeans (Royal 2003). *Kaitiakitanga* can thus be defined as guardianship of all that is created within the landscape over which someone is *kaitiaki* (Boland, et al 1998). Being *kaitiaki* over a landscape requires a commitment to care for the land and give back to it, which has to be based on the feelings that you have for the land and those things associated with it, such as one's ancestors whom are buried there. Landscape, in the sense discussed here and for Maori in general, encompasses both the tangible and intangible (Boland, et al 1998).

¹¹ When combined with the prefix *kai-* and the suffix *-tanga* the word and concept are transformed to mean an agent who works at preservation, conservation and protection.

Often it is the latter part of the landscape, the intangible, which is left out of English translations of *kaitiaki*. The intangibles that are being left out are the complex and multiple relationships involved in *kaitiakitanga* – relationships between people and the land, other people including the ancestors, and the intangible portions of the world that are encompassed in the term *kaitiakitanga* (Kawharu 2000:352). These incomplete translations tend to focus on the resource management aspect of guardianship. The *Conservation Act 1987* defines *kaitiakitanga* as the preservation and protection of natural and historic resources so as to maintain their intrinsic values and to provide for their appreciation and enjoyment by the public as well as their future (Boland, et al 1998:132). This is usually accompanied by the idea that such areas should be set-aside as reserves so that the landscape can be managed appropriately (Roberts et al 1995; 12). Preserving land in this manner goes against the Maori ideal of *kaitiakitanga* as a mode of sustainable use. Mereta Kawharu (2000:352) says that this limited view of *kaitiakitanga* often means that the concept is misunderstood, leading to it being misapplied.

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) conducted a study in 1998 on the participation of Maori in environmental planning and resource management. It concluded that the underlying principles of *kaitiakitanga* should be recognized by the *Resource Management Act 1991*:

The natural environment and natural resources of an area have particular meaning and significance for those *iwi* and *hapu* who are *tangata whenua* of that place. Such values and the management priorities that derive from them can only be authoritatively determined by *tangata whenua*. These values and priorities must be recognized and provided for under the [Resource Management Act 1991](section 6(e)). (Boland, et al 1998:2).

PCE concluded that Maori are looking for a more direct involvement and ‘partnership’ in landscape management, moving from a reactive process to one where they are active from the planning stages onward (Boland, et al 1998).

This type of relationship between government institutions and Maori has been recognized in policy, in particular the *Resource Management Act 1991*. Specifically, three sections have relevancy here. Section 6e calls for the recognition and provision for the relationship Maori have culturally and traditionally with ancestral lands, water, sites, *wahi tapu* and other *taonga* [treasure]. Section 7a then notes that government should have a “particular regard to *kaitiakitanga*” (Boland, et al 1998:4). The last section is the general call for government to take into account the principles of the Treaty at

all times. Part of the Crown's role according to these principles is to give Maori the appropriate information on developments that will affect their interests. This must be done in a timely manner so that Maori are able to respond before the Crown or Council makes a decision. This does not, in fact, mean that decisions will be rendered in favor of Maori. Consultation from the Crown perspective means that Maori must be taken into account in management decisions.

Yet, regardless of the Maori call for 'partnership', we can see the limitations of these policies are based on the resource management aspect of the term. While there may be obvious problems of translating one cosmological term from Maori culture into Pakeha-based resource management policy, *kaitiakitanga* may come to be a point of commonality for bi-cultural action (Roberts et al 1995:7; Kawharu 2000:354). Roberts et al (1995:8) quoting Marsden suggest a "passionate, subjective approach...remember[ing] that *Maoritanga* (Maori culture/perspective) is a thing of the heart rather than the head" in trying to make the leap from Maori concepts into policy and practice in New Zealand. While Marsden is speaking about Maori culture in general, the suggestion holds true for *kaitiakitanga* in detail.

Much like *tapu* at Onuku, the role of *kaitiaki* has changed over time. Onuku participants spoke about the ideological aspect of *kaitiakitanga* related above, but were unable to relate how those ideas were put into practice in ways other than modes of practical management. Tipene told me: "We have to take care of the land. That's why we keep the place tidy. That way [the ancestors] know we are caring for them."

'Keeping the place tidy' was the general sentiment – mowing the grass, picking up trash, doing away with clutter, and making sure buildings were in repair. Yet, some did relate that taking care of the practical, physical resources had a residual effect on the intangible aspects of the landscape – so in caring for one the other was cared for automatically. This is resonant with the idea about acting respectful around *tapu*. When asked about Takapuneke in particular, Auntie Ruiha said:

For Takapuneke, you have to mow the grass. Keep it tidy. The best thing to do is to just leave it. When the reserve got put there they went and put some flax on there and which is mixed reviews again because what they were doing was digging up the land but also that was sort of bringing it alive again as well. So planting on the land is one thing they have done to make it look like a reserve and to bring some life back to it. But it's best to leave it.

When asked more specifically about the methods of caring for the intangible aspects of the landscape, like *tapu*, other Onuku participants mirrored the sentiments of either keeping the land ‘tidy’ or, conversely, simply quoted the *tapu* rules about washing your hands and being careful where you eat and walk as noted above.

It would seem that in Onuku the modes of caring for the landscape as *kaitiaki* have morphed into the similar rules as being careful and respectful around *tapu*. While there are some residual references to the intangible aspects of *kaitiakitanga* (Tipene’s reference to the ancestors above, for example), if there had been a difference between those two types of behavior in the past, the rules for *kaitiaki* seem to have been lost through promotion of the prohibitions for *tapu*. The younger generation explained the loss of this information as due to the loss of ‘real’ leadership in the community, which included the loss of knowledge about *tapu* as well as the intangible aspects of *kaitiakitanga*. Hemi said: “Now we don’t have a leader, no *upoko*. A chairman isn’t a leader, a spiritual leader to teach these things. That is why this kind of thing [the situation with Takapuneke] keeps going on. A chairman is for corporations, not us. It’s all business now.”

Even so, *kaitiakitanga* did come up in another context: when trying to speak with participants about *tino rangatiratanga* rights. After several occurrences of this I asked about the connection of the two concepts. I also asked why there seemed to be an avoidance of talk about *tino rangatiratanga*. Kiri told me: “we don’t do that down here. That’s for up north.” Auntie Ruiha said:

That kind of thing is not part of our concern. That is for those troublemakers up north. That’s about politics and that’s not what we think about down home. There we want to take care of our place, our relations, be *kaitiaki*. That is just being rude and stuffy, like you see at Waitangi. How those people treat each other is rude.

Auntie Huhana told me a story to illustrate her view of *tino rangatiratanga* and those that called for its inclusion in the debate of Maori rights:

The Prime Minister was at Onuku *marae* for Waitangi Day [in 1998]. We had the *marae* prepared – the food was ready to go, Hine and everyone had been cooking all day and night for all the people that had come. The Prime Minister and her party were on the *marae* getting ready to speak and the crowd was gathered. Some distant cousins arrived from up north and wanted to get onto the porch where the Prime Minister was sitting – just outside the window in front there - with a sign promoting *tino rangatiratanga* rights in order to make a protest and stop the Prime Minister from speaking. The protestors came into the kitchens and asked Hine how to get to the Prime Minister. She told them that they only had to go through the back door and walk through the *wharenuī* and out the front door to get to her, as

she was sitting just beside it. Hine also said to them that the man standing next to the Prime Minister had a gun. That man is there to protect her and would more than likely shoot them if they came out onto the porch next to her. So she pointed to the door they needed to go through, but the protestors slunk off without creating any sort of commotion.

This story and the laughter that followed are an example of how people at Onuku viewed the uproar that surrounds *tino rangatiratanga* rights on the *marae*. To them, that kind of ‘commotion’ was improper. It was much more important to be respectful of guests and to show proper etiquette even if you did not agree with what they are saying. Yet, if you wanted to speak up then you must accept the consequences of that action, just as you do any time you speak on the *marae*. The fact that the consequences in this specific situation could have resulted in being shot was a matter the protestors had to weigh. But more than that, the protestors also had to consider the blow to Onuku *marae*’s *mana* that would have been dealt if any commotion had occurred. Due to the weight that the Onuku *marae* puts on their reputation as good hosts, that blow would have been significant. Hine¹² was subtly able to relay all of this information in the way that she handled the situation.

Even though the Onuku community touted the propriety of *kaitiakitanga* over that of *tino rangatiratanga*, the effect was the same, only the vehicle was different. Members of the Onuku community used hospitality instead of direct action or protest in order to enact their agency to negotiate with the various bureaucratic institutions they encountered. In a sense, the Onuku community chose to focus their actions within the range of actions available to them in the bureaucratic habitus, rather than those based in the protest politics of Maori on the North Island. However, their version of *kaitiakitanga* did not mean that they were shirking the responsibility of keeping their cultural ideals in place, as the long record of conflicts over Takapuneke can attest. They were hardly bowing to the BPDC, CCC or any other such authority on matters important to them. While their complaints were constant and consistent, they were also done with respect and politeness, in which, again, the people of Onuku took pride. Being respectful and engaged people as *kaitiaki* was one way in which Onuku people constructed and reinforced their identity as Maori, justified their right to protect the site of Takapuneke through a solid claim of ‘ownership’, and thus enhanced the cultural capital at their disposal.

¹² Hine was the manager at the *marae*. In her 30s, she spent most of her time cooking for events. She was quiet except when working on an event, when she was cooking and giving orders to everyone trying to help. She was a master at stretching what there was to feed whomever showed up in good order.

So, *kaitiakitanga* was seen as a method of caring and offering hospitality, while also acting as a way to exercise agency with other institutions by enacting their claim to the area through the role of guardian. This caring and hospitality was extended to the landscape as well as to visitors. I often heard people recalling how visitors have complimented Onuku *marae* on the food and the way the *marae* put people up when they came to visit overnight. Auntie Huhana said: “When the Prime Minister came we put up hundreds of people and fed them all. They couldn’t believe we fed all those people. It was much more than we expected, but we did it. It happens when we have Waitangi Day, too.” This was a matter of *mana* to the *marae* and a foundation in their belief of being *kaitiaki* to their *marae*, to Takapuneke, and their relations, whether familial or political, which could be seen every time the subject was broached.

Not being able to secure the protection of Takapuneke visibly pained some of the participants. Auntie Ruiha said: “It is more than looking after our relations at Takapuneke. But others will look at us as not taking care of them.” In short, it was a matter of *mana*. Although there have been small victories toward rebuilding that *mana* in such instances as the closing of the garbage tip that was situated at the top of the Takapuneke site, in getting part of the Takapuneke site set aside as a reserve, and in the apology they received over the site, the major turning point will be when Onuku *Runanga* can fully realize their place as *kaitiaki* of the area. Such recognition will show that others, like CCC and HPT, have fully realized the Onuku community’s claim of connection to the site.

At a meeting of submissions to change the Takapuneke area to a Historic Reserve in May 2008, Uncle Paora stated:

This place, Takapuneke has always been Takapuneke to us. We have good relations here. I’ve been to conferences, meetings, *hui* [gatherings] to talk about how we feel sorrow about this site and what was done there. I’ve been telling the same story for years. This massacre there makes that an *urupa*. It’s our ancestors. It all came from the massacre. This place is significant because of that. Onuku should be part of the management. If one house were built over there it will ruin the *tapu* of it. We should be able to care for it.

Clearly, Onuku *Runanga*’s wish to be *kaitiaki* could be accomplished by protecting the site from any future development and with Onuku *Runanga* being appointed as managers, or co-managers, to the reserve. The outcome remains to be seen, as CCC will make decisions over management of the site after the pending gazettal of the area as a Historic Reserve.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we can see that the notion of *tapu* is not consistently conceptualized among members of the Onuku community, even though it acts as a basis for their construction of Takapuneke as a cultural object. While an exact definition of the concept was not forthcoming, there was a general theme of respect for land and ancestors that ran through their ideas. We can also see that there is a general theme of *tapu* involving social relationships, both between the living and between the living and the dead. These themes of respect and social relationships seem to be replacing *tapu* as a method of social control or a mode of spiritual retribution. What we see here is the general idea that *tapu* as it was represented in the past is fading or is becoming less effectual.

This may be due to a couple of factors. First, changes in behavior are leading to different understandings of *tapu*. An example of this is the hanging of Grannie's picture in the eating hall. Though some of the older members of Onuku mentioned to me that the picture shouldn't be in that area, they were not willing to do anything to change the situation. Also, the picture had been hung without any thought about whether it was proper. This along with the fact that, as Hemi mentioned, there are no spiritual leaders to teach about these concepts anymore seems to show that the younger generation will have very different attitudes toward *tapu* than the older generation, especially given that the older generation isn't willing to enforce the *tapu* rules that they know or to pass them on.

Also, this is a change that was predicted by Tikao, which many of the participants had read. Here is an instance of a written work from a known, legitimate authority (according to participants at Onuku) on the effectiveness of *tapu*. As a *tohunga* who had relations with people in the Akaroa area, Tikao had the knowledge about whether *tapu* was still in effect in Banks Peninsula. His determination was that the coming of the Pakeha had ended the effectiveness of *tapu*. As Pakeha could do many of the things that were supposed to be against *tapu* rules without being effected, Maori soon followed suit. As Maori daily practices changed so did their idea of their physical and social landscape and how *tapu* applied to those two contexts. Over time, these changes have had and are still having an effect on the belief of the participants at Onuku.

At the same time, there is evidence the belief in *tapu* is still strong in some respects. The two stories mentioned above point to *tapu* being in place whether you believe in it or know it is there. As Kiri and Hemi told me - it simply is. As well, this seemed to be the case in terms of the concept

solidifying around *urupa* and the site of Takapuneke. These places were mentioned continuously in the same vein: as *tapu* regardless of any other factor. Takapuneke was pointed out by those at Onuku as especially *tapu* because not only was it an *urupa*, but also the blood of their ancestors had been spilt there. These factors were understood by even those like Auntie Ruiha who did not put much faith in the notion of *tapu*. Here is where we see the marriage of *tapu* and respect for the ancestors. Even if you did not believe in *tapu* as a spiritual notion, you give *tapu* items or places respect due to their representation of a specific event or the *whakapapa* represented there. In this way, *tapu* has become a type of secular social rule based on respect that helps to protect objects and places of importance to the group in some way, codifying them in the group's memory and construction of the landscape. As well, *tapu*, like *kaitiakitanga*, acted as a way to make a claim of 'ownership' as discussed in Chapter Two. This type of claim was more about recognition than the Western sense of possession, with Onuku *Runanga* attempting to connect themselves thoroughly with the place, their ancestors, and the narrative that was being constructed for that purpose.

The importance of these objects and places are, in part, based in the group's memories of them. As noted in Chapter Two, Bender and Winer (2001:4), Forty (1999) and others explained that places act as repositories of memory that can be controlled in order to affect how they will be reproduced in society. The daily experiences of the Onuku community with their landscape and their communal memories, including Tikao's opinions on the effectiveness of *tapu*, are influencing the construction of Takapuneke as a cultural object based on the concept of *tapu*.

At the same time, Onuku *Runanga* is attempting to control how the site is remembered in order to maintain a strong connection to the site itself. If they are successful, they may influence the reproduction of the interpretation of the site in a way that fits with their interest of protecting it. By framing the history of the site as a culmination of events that led it to become *tapu*, Onuku *Runanga* is constructing an interpretation of Takapuneke that may guide how the site is understood and remembered. The non-Maori groups are also working toward that end but with their own interests in mind, as we will see in the next chapter.

The participants who defined *tapu* as a matter of sacredness implied that the ritual value, to use Radcliffe-Brown's term, of an object or place was determined by whether it was *tapu*. If an object or place was *tapu* then it deserved your respect and therefore the social rules were upheld. The simplicity of the sacred aspect of *tapu* as defined by the participants, along with the fact that the

resulting behavior is similar, if not identical, to those who viewed *tapu* as a practical concept, is further evidence that the concept of *tapu* as sacred is no longer well defined as a holistic concept among the Onuku community. Keesing's (1985:205) redefinition of *tapu* as 'off-limits' bridges the dichotomy between the two categories of *tapu* and seems applicable to how the Onuku participants understood *tapu*.

These definitions may be similar due to the fact that roughly half of the participants had read about *tapu* in historical sources such as the large collection of works by Best. As Pakeha historians or anthropologists wrote much of the history concerning *tapu*, the understanding the participants gain from these materials is based on a Pakeha interpretation of the concept. Maori who use the concept are attempting to maintain notions of *tapu* as a form of cultural value by continuing to use it in their daily lives and in dealing with bureaucratic institutions.

Yet, Takapuneke was unfailingly described as *tapu*. In order to protect it from development, it was not enough for Onuku *Runanga* to profess this belief. As noted above, it was often necessary to communicate the status of a *tapu* site in some way. While this was historically done through physical or symbolic marking, expressing a type of ownership, this kind of marking would not suffice in this context. Instead, Onuku *Runanga* had to devise a new method of marking the site at *tapu* in order to convey it to those that had the power to protect the site. This new method was through the construction of a narrative of Takapuneke based on the events that occurred there, which was accomplished by taking on bureaucratic forms of governmentality. Onuku *Runanga*'s use of *kaitiakitanga* as a way to build relationships based on respect assisted in promoting its narrative and thereby solidifying their claim to the site. Yet, *tapu* has proved to be too numinous for these non-Maori organizations and others to grasp. In order to interact with Maori on these issues it was necessary to have an applicable concept from which to work. In the next chapter, we will see that the answer to this issue of a recognizable category for *tapu* has come in the form of *wahi tapu* as legislated in the *Historic Places Act 1993*.

Chapter Five

Alternative Constructions of Takapuneke: the Role of non-Maori Organizations

In order to get a complete understanding of the issues surrounding the case of Takapuneke, we need to get a sense of the part played by the Historic Places Trust, Akaroa Civic Trust and Banks Peninsula District and Christchurch City Councils in reference to the site.¹ Each of these organizations has helped to construct a narrative based on their understanding of the land according to the events that occurred there as well as their particular positions in relation to it, their links with the state, their mandates and thus their interests. By understanding the interests of these groups, we can gain insights into their perceptions of the site. As we saw in Chapter Three, the primary focus of their narratives are the set of events, starting with the massacre at Takapuneke and ending with the Britomart incident, that have been interpreted by the non-Maori organizations as precursors to the creation and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Therefore, in the historically based narratives promoted by these organizations, the site of Takapuneke acts as a starting point.

However, for Onuku *Runanga*, the massacre itself, as a culmination of events, is the primary focus of the importance of the site. That event, and the later burning of the remains by Rhodes, solidified the site as *tapu* to the Onuku community. While the concept of *tapu* is not consistent among the participants at Onuku, their application of *tapu* to Takapuneke was. The Onuku community's understanding of *tapu* is different from the legislated concept of *wahi tapu*, as we will see below. Additionally, while the concept of *wahi tapu* gives the non-Maori organizations another option for interpretation, we will see that it also acts as a way for them to frame the site in order to create a narrative that fits with their institutional roles. Although the construction of the site as a *wahi tapu* can be primarily attributed to Historic Places Trust, it has passed this concept on to the other non-Maori organizations as one possible way to categorize the site. My argument will be that the construction of the site in terms of *wahi tapu* provides the non-Maori organizations involved with a particular notion of the value of the site, one that they attempt to advance in the struggle for control over the meaning of the site. To refer back to Bourdieu in Chapter Two, each group is acting according to its habitus, pursuing their interests according to their mandates. These mandates have been influenced by the social structure within society towards the protection of Maori-related sites,

¹ While the Department of Conservation has authority to sign off on the gazettal of the site under the *Reserves Act 1977* it has no role concerning Takapuneke as yet. It is the responsibility of the District Council to determine management of the site and the Department may well be given a role at that time. This is not likely to occur sooner than one to two years from the gazettal date, which is hoped to be completed at the end of 2008.

for instance. As a result, these organizations have particular ways of instituting action along those lines in order to attain their goals in relation to the site. Categorizing it as *wahi tapu* as codified in law is one of those ways.

First, I would like to clarify the non-Maori organizations' positioning on the term *tapu*. None of the bureaucratic organizations (ACT, BPDC/CCC, and HPT) that were surveyed for this research have an official, or working, definition of the concept of *tapu*. This is not to say that *tapu* does not appear in some of their documentation or that individuals I spoke to had no conception of *tapu*. When pressed for a definition, individuals from these three organizations often referred to the written works (especially those by Best) noted in Chapter Four, including the book *Tikao Talks*. Yet, Mayor Bob Parker's answer to this question in 2004 epitomized the sentiment of the institutions. He said, "*Tapu* is a Maori thing. I don't think about that." At the time of this statement, Mayor Parker was Mayor of Banks Peninsula. He has since become the new Mayor of Christchurch. Mayor Parker is a middle-aged man who started out with a career as a presenter on television. Upon moving back to Akaroa and Christchurch, he entered politics, becoming Mayor of the Peninsula, then a CCC councilor after amalgamation and eventually Mayor of Christchurch. He held true to his word on the issue of *tapu*. Not once in our several conversations did he utter the words *tapu* or *wahi tapu*, other than in the quote given above.

A few participants from the non-Maori organizations reflected Mayor Parker's statement saying that it was a Maori issue and not for them, as Pakeha, to define. On the other hand, several participants pointed out that they had a personal feeling about *tapu*, but that it was not the official notion. When a participant did have a personal definition, Pakeha or Maori, they said that *tapu* meant 'sacred'. There was one exception to this. Patariki Timoti², a young Maori heritage councilor for HPT stated:

My own personal interpretation is that it is a concept that directs appropriate practice and protocol; it is not overly restrictive nor stagnant. Interestingly, a *tapu* was often placed upon an area not necessarily to restrict access or interaction but more so to implement sustainable management practice of any given area. There is no doubt it is a spiritual concept but it is also practical, which is typical in any holistic cultural paradigm.

² Patariki Timoti was a Maori Heritage Councilor with HPT in Christchurch. I met with him several times at his office, but also saw him often at larger events at Onuku, usually with his family. His attendance at those events was usually social rather than work oriented. Patariki was college educated and had extensive knowledge based on his experiences on *marae*. By my return in 2008, he had moved to Wellington after a promotion within HPT.

As he worked with HPT it is not surprising that his notion of *tapu* was connected to sustainable management of resources, as HPT's mandate (discussed below) is to sustain New Zealand's heritage. He admitted that there was indeed a spiritual side to *tapu*, but his stress personally and as an HPT employee was clearly on the practical implications.

We can see that *tapu* as a concept is not formally defined by the non-Maori organizations. Even in the instance of HPT's Register, which recognizes various types of *wahi tapu* (see Appendix A) and would therefore seem to imply an official understanding of *tapu*, there is no recognition of the concept as separate from or even included in the concept of *wahi tapu*. This restricts the idea of *tapu* to landscape, since they understand the term *wahi tapu* to mean 'sacred site', but have no official conception of *tapu* apart from this. How can organizations involved with a recognized *wahi tapu* not have an understanding of the concept that is the basis of that recognition? As we shall see, the answer to that question lies in the interpretation of both the concept of *wahi tapu* and the site of Takapuneke itself.

Historic Places Trust

The mission of the Historic Places Trust (HPT), which is the "leading national historic heritage agency" (CCC 2008:n.p.), is "to promote the identification, protection, preservation, and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand" (Legarth c2002:4). More specifically, it promotes and conserves particular historic areas and places that contain significant heritage value. Equal importance is given to all the site types, but HPT does have particular responsibilities for Maori heritage. Not that these responsibilities are different from other types of heritage, but legislation is clear that HPT must pay particular attention to Maori interests and the protection of Maori sites (Legarth c2002).

It is also HPT's responsibility to care for archaeological sites. The *Historic Places Act 1993* provides HPT with the function of controlling activities that may damage, destroy or modify archaeological sites (HPT 2003a). In addition, the Act gives it further duties such as the responsibility to inform district councils of the need to include heritage orders in plans and to negotiate heritage covenants over property with owners (HPT 2003a). The responsibility for working with the Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC) and the Takapuneke case falls on the regional HPT office in Christchurch.

A large part of HPT's work is in building the Register, which is a listing of sites or areas that have gone through a process of application to be recognized as having historical value to the community or the nation (HPT 2003b). However, registration of a site does not give the site any sort of protection unless it is an archaeological site. Because there is no active protection levied on other types of registered sites, HPT does not conduct public oral submissions concerning registrations (HPT 2003b). HPT makes registration decisions on a case-by-case basis rather than rigidly following policy guidelines. This applies for all types of registered sites but is especially important when considering Maori sites because many Maori find most Pakeha systems of valuing or scoring to determine the relevancy of sites inappropriate. It must also be kept in mind that registration is not necessarily a permanent designation (HPT 2003b). HPT can internally review a site at any time and can accept requests to do so from individuals every three years. In the case of a request, HPT will confirm the designation, modify it or remove the site or area from the Register, depending on the evidence for and against the case (HPT 2003a).

Registration is only a form of recognition of one value of the site, which may be a location, building or both. Registration does not preclude the site from being valued in other ways, including ways that may be contrary to the conservation of the site, such as development of the place or the demolition of the building. One Maori Heritage Councilor for HPT, Anahera Whetu made this point about the efficacy of registration:

It's just another layer of acknowledgement really. Legally, it doesn't do anything at all, but in terms of advocacy it does. It brings it in to the public domain and, I guess that the Historic Places Trust are recognized in people's minds. There is definitely something in an agency like us recognizing the values that are inherent, that are recognized by the people from that place for years.

This is where the role of HPT becomes essential. They act as consultants to the local council and concerned citizens in instances when an event may harm the historic or cultural value of a site. In this capacity they are advocating for the preservation of the heritage of the nation in whatever form it may take. The support they provide is historic research, evaluation and recognition of the data collected in order to supply an objective understanding of the historic value of the site.

However, it must be noted that the Register is not the full extent of the country's heritage. It is an ever-evolving list as sites and areas are being added constantly. Critics have argued that this recognition should be reserved for sites that are only nationally important (HPT 2003b). Yet,

limiting the Register in this way has been found difficult to implement because the concepts of national, regional, or local significance are complex and do not lend themselves to easy categorization (ibid). As registration gives no particular protection to the site or area, it is the local authorities, such as the BPDC/CCC, that have power to determine how the site or area is managed. HPT's ability to have an influence in those decisions comes from the *Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA)* (Legarth c2002).

Under RMA section 6(e), local authorities must recognize and promote relations with Maori. These relations take the form of consultation between the two parties. Section 6(f) of the RMA says that local authorities should protect heritage land or sites from division, use and development. However, the local authority is allowed to take all factors into account, some of which may preclude the protection of the site (Legarth c2002). It is HPT's position to inform local authorities, either through consultation or through the Register, where heritage sites or areas are located and how they should be handled. Again, it is ultimately up to the local body to uphold those suggestions through action in the district plan and resource consent decisions. This is an example of the devolution of power through the bureaucratic institutions as noted in Chapter Two, leaving decisions to be made by local institutions rather than national ones from a distance.

The newest amendment to the RMA, the *Resource Management Amendment Act 2003 (RMAA)*, under section 6, changes the status of historic heritage to a matter of 'national importance' (Legarth c2002). Heritage here includes any place or area that contributes to the understanding of the nation's history, including Maori history. The RMAA reasons that cultural heritage is irreplaceable. The rationale here is that heritage reminds people of who they are and where they come from. Thus, conservation of this heritage helps people to develop a greater understanding of their history and identity, molding their memories of events and places that are considered to be nationally important. Further, it is HPT's contention that cultural heritage sites have lasting value in their own right and provide evidence of the origins of New Zealand as a distinct society. For rural areas this is seen in buildings and landscapes. For urban areas it is recognized in the streetscape and the workmanship of buildings (Legarth c2002). Heritage is also reflected in Maori relationships to their culture and traditions. Because of the importance of the contribution of Maori related areas to the identity of the country as distinct, the RMAA has proclaimed that such sites and areas are nationally important (HPT 2002b).

Even though critics have argued that only nationally important sites should be added to the Register, the lifting of all sites, Maori related or not, to the level of national importance is quite different. Instead of considering sites that are of importance to everyone in the nation, which as noted above may have some serious complications, the RMAA now gives sites equal value whether it is considered important locally, regionally and even, in the case of some Maori sites, personally, on the *whanau* (extended family) level. This seems to be an attempt to promote biculturalism through the recognition of diverse heritage values as a means of creating, or recreating, a national identity through the recognition of those sites and areas. The inclusion of Maori heritage here points to the value given by the state to the bicultural paradigm that is currently part of the construction of the nation. Registering sites as nationally important implies a sense of national ownership over the site as well that precludes any local or personal ties a specific group may have for the location.

To accommodate this, HPT's Register recognizes four types of sites: historical place; historical area; *wahi tapu*; and *wahi tapu* area (HPT 2003b). A historic place is any combination of land and structure or building that forms part of the historical and cultural heritage of the nation and is located in New Zealand. HPT identifies this as a comprehensive understanding of heritage:

It includes identifiable pieces of land including land covered by water, tangible physical things contained in or on the land such as buildings, structures, archaeological sites, gardens and trees, and intangible cultural values such as association with tradition and events (HPT 2003b:2).

The suitability of a site for registration is stated in section 23(1) of the *Historic Places Act 1993*: “The Trust may enter any historic place or historic area in the Register if the place or area possesses aesthetic, archaeological, architectural, cultural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, technological, or traditional significance or value” (*Historic Places Act 1993* as quoted in HPT 2003b:2). Historic Areas are areas that contain inter-related historical sites, such as a town or village – Akaroa's waterfront is an example of a historic area. There is no ethnic or cultural distinction for historic places or areas for the purpose of registration.

However, there is a distinction between historic places or areas, which tend to be Pakeha-oriented or bicultural sites, and *wahi tapu* or *wahi tapu* areas, which are specifically Maori. Ms. Whetu, an HPT heritage councilor introduced in Chapter Three, said this was a failing in the Register: “There are no categories for Maori history. If it's Maori, then it goes into the *wahi tapu* category. We

should have a Maori history category to set that apart. So, it can be history but not *wahi tapu*. That needs to be changed.”

HPT recognizes that *iwi*, *hapu* and *whanau* may have various definitions for *wahi tapu*, as do academics and other specialists (HPT 2003b). Even so, HPT makes their decisions to register sites based on the following definition from the *Historic Places Act 1993*, section 2: “*Wahi tapu* means a place sacred to Maori in the traditional, spiritual, religious, ritual or mythological sense” (HPT 2003b:n.p.). This is very similar to the definition of the historic site given above, with fewer aspects and a focus on values tied to the intangible. Due to the individual and often intimate nature of *tapu* sites, such as at Takapuneke, HPT only requires a general description of the site’s location and nature. Although, precise information is helpful in trying to protect sites, HPT does not ask for exact details in recognition of the need to keep secret the locations of certain sites, as well as to respect the emotional aspects of the sites (HPT 2003b). Patariki Timoti said: “*Wahi tapu* acknowledge the layers of history in a wider area of history”.

Yet, the registration of Maori places has not been an easy endeavor for HPT. Mr. Timoti said, “*Iwi* aren’t generally forthcoming about their places.” Ms. Whetu also reflected on this problem: “Why would you want the Crown to put a label on it? Traditionally, nondisclosure is the best means of protection. But in today’s world, where there are lines and district plans, you have to play by those rules for better or for worse.” She added that she had not been convinced about registration of *tapu* sites herself, but as noted in her quote above, the point of advocacy changed her mind: “I see it as raising the profile [of such sites], more so than protection.”

For registration purposes, a *wahi tapu* is a single site. A *wahi tapu area* is an area that contains more than one *wahi tapu*. *Wahi tapu* and *wahi tapu areas* can range from *urupa* to battle sites to entire mountains, or be a combination of such (see Appendix A for a thematic framework list of site types under the four categories, including *wahi tapu*). Although any person may apply to register a *wahi tapu*, HPT consults local *whanau*, *hapu* or *iwi* or other relevant Maori that may have interest in a site when considering it for registration. It is also possible to have corresponding registrations, such as a registered *wahi tapu* site or area within a registered historical area.

Wahi tapu have been controversial to the public, especially in terms of registration. One such controversy can be seen at Puketapu Hill, near Hastings, North Island. On 20 July 2003, an article

entitled 'Claim divided Community' appeared in the *Sunday Star-Times*. This article brought the attention of the public to the claim of local Maori with concerns over Puketapu Hill. The hill is considered to be *tapu* by local Maori due to the burials there of up to seventy people that were killed in a battle in 1845, making it both an *urupa* and a battle site (Kitchin 2003). The Hastings District Council was criticized by local Maori for its plans to sell the land on Puketapu Hill as vineyard sites, which the Council saw as a lucrative way to pay off district debt (Milne 2003).

The local *runanga* at Omuhu claimed that the burials should be protected. The council set aside four hectares, which was an area that included the burials along with a small buffer of land on the hill at no cost to the Omuhu community as a resolution, which the council considered generous (Milne 2003). The four hectares were the likely site of the battle and burials. The Omuhu community held a *hikoi* (protest march) to protest against the sale of the remaining land, walking up the hill to put pressure on the council (Kitchin 2003). People from Omuhu also attended council meetings to call for a halt to the sale of the entire hill, saying that they only wanted protection for the area. The mayor of Hastings asked the Crown to purchase the land and, in return, was asked to lower the cost so Omuhu *Runanga* could do so (Kitchin 2003). The council responded by dropping the price and the *Runanga* found funding to purchase the area. In the end, while neither the Omuhu community nor the District Council were completely happy, they had negotiated a compromise that was considered adequate by all parties.

Even though registering *wahi tapu* or *wahi tapu* areas is no different than registering a historic place or area, there remains some apprehension around the process and the label, which is usually focused on economic loss. HPT's response is that it is merely an official recognition of Maori cultural and historic values (Tramposch 2003a). Yet, often the concern is that private property owners or their rates will be adversely affected. However, the power of any change or restriction is up to an area's district council, as with any other restriction on development or land use (Berry 2002b). These same restrictions may also be placed on historical places or areas at the discretion of the local council. HPT only makes recommendations to the council and has no power over private property owners, nor does the designation proclaim that the site is *tapu*. Registration simply means that the place fits under the definition of *wahi tapu* codified in the *Historic Places Act 1993*. HPT contends that this is no different than registering a historical site for its architectural or social significance (Tramposch 2003a).

HPT's involvement with Takapuneke

In February 2002, Onuku *Runanga* applied to have Takapuneke registered as a *wahi tapu* area with the Historic Places Trust (HPT 2002b). The application described the site as an old *pa* site, a battleground because of the sacking by Te Rauparaha, and now a respected *urupa* for those ancestors killed in the battle. The site was officially registered in June of 2002. The notification letter reiterates the position of HPT and registration:

Registration as a *wahi tapu* area under the Historic Places Act 1993 is intended to recognize the values held by *tangata whenua* in relation to certain areas. It does not automatically preclude utilization and development, including residential development, of the area. Takapuneke has long been recognized by the Onuku people and Ngai Tahu as sacred. Registration acknowledges the Maori cultural values that pertain to the Takapuneke area (HPT 2002b:n.p.).

The letter also noted that this registration has no effect on any private property rights and requested that the BPDC place Takapuneke on their list of *wahi tapu* and historic places so that it could be considered in any planning documents.

After registration of Takapuneke, HPT continued to support Onuku *Runanga*'s efforts to have the entire site set aside as a reserve in a meeting with Chris Carter, Minister of Conservation³, in 2003. Even though part of the area was designated as a reserve by BPDC, it was placed in the category of Local Purpose Reserve, meaning that it was open for public recreation (HPT 2002b). This designation goes against the Onuku community's beliefs about the utilization of the site and their perception of the site as *tapu*. At the meeting, Onuku *Runanga*, HPT and ACT co-operated in trying to re-categorize the existing Takapuneke Reserve in order to give it additional protection and to expand its boundaries. These three together stressed the site's importance to the nation: "The Historic Places Trust considers Takapuneke reserve to be of outstanding historical and cultural significance to all New Zealanders. The cultural significance of the area is diverse as it is a region that witnessed many waves of settlement and human activity" (HPT 2003c:1).

This statement shows that HPT's interest, according to the legislation that created the mandate of the organization, is in the nation's heritage seen in national (i.e. bicultural) terms. Even though they are able to work closely with the *Runanga* and groups like ACT, their perception of the site is shaped by this objective, which can be seen as an objective of the state. Rather than constructing a landscape of daily experience, as are Onuku *Runanga* and ACT, HPT is attempting to construct a *national*

³ The Minister of Conservation holds the power to gazette reserve sites under the *Reserve Act 1977*.

landscape and a *national* historic identity. This landscape and identity is based on the Register, which acts as an archive of the events that have taken place throughout the country, as noted by Forty (1999) in Chapter Two. In a sense, HPT attempts to validate each of the places on the Register as cultural objects, while legitimizing the claims of recognition made by those who submit the place or building for consideration. At the same time, by registering the sites, HPT is appropriating them for the purposes of constructing that national identity

In the minutes of the meeting with Minister Carter, HPT pointed out that the European history behind the site was just as important as the Maori history and it was the mixture of those two histories that made the site nationally important (HPT 2003c). HPT stated that because of these events, the site contained intrinsic value to the identity of New Zealanders (HPT 2003c). It was also mentioned that the site continues to bear the scars of deception, treachery and warfare due to the more recent events that were threatening to destroy the value of the site. This was furthered by Onuku *Runanga*'s contention that William Green did not have a right to sell the property and therefore the entire line of private ownership, including the BPDC title, went against the *Runanga*'s Treaty rights. In the *Runanga*'s opinion, this was a clear failure of the Crown's obligation to protect their rights according to Article Two of the Treaty (HPT 2003c).

As the only *wahi tapu* registered to Ngai Tahu and as a registered archaeological site, HPT's argument was that Takapuneke should be linked with the Britomart Memorial, which memorializes the claim of Britain to the South Island, to create a bi-cultural national historic reserve (HPT 2003c). Onuku *Runanga*, BPDC, HPT, the Department of Conservation and other organizations that may have a direct interest in the values of the site would manage the new reserve. HPT's final recommendation was that all future developments should meet with the *Runanga*'s approval and that HPT itself would ensure the preservation of the area's spiritual and historical heritage (HPT 2003c).

The efforts of HPT to construct a narrative for Takapuneke within the national history based on academic research and published materials varies greatly with the lived experience of the landscape that was being constructed by the *Runanga* and even by ACT. Both of these latter groups were constructing their narratives of the place through their daily interaction with the land which was reinforced by their non-interaction with the site itself – either due to respecting the *tapu* in the case of the *Runanga* or due to respecting the wishes of the *Runanga* as with ACT. While some of the initial knowledge of the site and the events there may have been acquired through academic sources,

the members of the Onuku and Akaroa communities are using that information coupled with their experiences to construct their landscapes in particular ways. HPT, on the other hand, used their knowledge of the site to construct a narrative that linked it to the national heritage, which they are directed to recognize and protect.

These same sentiments were reiterated in both the verbal and written submissions by HPT at the Akaroa/Wairewa community council⁴ meeting on 26 May 2008. The meeting, conducted at the behest of the CCC, was open to the public to hear submissions for the gazettal of the whole of the Takapuneke area as a Historic Reserve (CCC 2008). While mentioning the spiritual significance of the site and its categorization as *wahi tapu*, the majority of HPT's submission was based on the historical importance of the site, mentioning both the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Britomart memorial (CCC 2008) (see Appendix B for this section of HPT's written submission). In the verbal submission, Ms Whetu said: "It's really important that we get all of those layers of stories and have some negotiation on the appropriateness of that and because there are three reserves abutting each other, it makes sense to have a management plan or management plans that key into each other to show that."

HPT's submission also touched on three additional matters. First, that Onuku *Runanga* be included in the management of the site: "*Manawhenua* (local Maori people) values identified by Onuku *Runanaga* need to be at the core of all management planning for the site. The management plan will address historical, archaeological and cultural values of the area and will include specific policies and management recommendations for the site" (CCC 2008:n.p.). Second, HPT requested that the entire Takapuneke site, including the Britomart Memorial, be vested as a National Historic Reserve. Third, the submission closed by stating: "Official restoration of the original Maori name Takapuneke, applied to both the Green's Point and Takapuneke Reserve areas, should also be considered as part of the classification changes for the land parcels concerned" (CCC 2008:n.p.). In her verbal submission Ms. Whetu added: "The [Historic Places] Trust has little power, but registration raises the profile of the name of the place. All of the places in the area are significant and they are all Takapuneke." This request was also based on the mandate by the New Zealand

⁴ The *Local Government Act 2002* delegates certain powers from the City Council to the Community Boards. The community council is responsible for 'local' issues, which are issues that have only a local impact as determined by General Managers of the City Council. Hearing submissions of changes to land designations is one of those delegated powers.

Geographic Board Nga Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa to encourage the use of Maori place names when applicable.

We can see that the interest of HPT in general, and in the case of Takapuneke, is focused on the historical and cultural value of sites that are considered significant to the nation, as well as supporting community efforts to preserve those values. HPT's verbal and written submissions for the gazettal of Takapuneke had a strong emphasis on the historic aspect of the site, linking those events directly to the larger context of the Treaty of Waitangi and the creation of the country. While HPT's submissions did note the *wahi tapu* registration, this was secondary compared to the investment of value into its historic narrative, reflecting the nature of such registration, as noted by Ms. Whetu and Mr. Timoti above. In this regard, registering Takapuneke as *wahi tapu* has done exactly what Ms. Whetu said above – bring recognition to the site and raise it in the public's awareness – allowing the public, and more particularly CCC, to acknowledge the importance of the events to the history of the country. Therefore, the cultural value of the site, and thus the nature of its cultural capital according to HPT, is based on its historical link to the larger national construction of the nation as bicultural, rather than any importance based on it as *tapu*. While HPT has recognized the site as a *wahi tapu*, we will see in Chapter Six that this categorization does not equate to *tapu* as conceptualized by Onuku Runanga.

Akaroa Civic Trust

At a public meeting in Akaroa in 1969, Akaroa County Council chairman, Peter de Latour called for a Civic Trust to be convened with the aim of preserving and emphasizing Akaroa's unique characteristics "...before they were haphazardly destroyed by so-called progress" (ACT 2004a:n.p.). In December 1969, the Akaroa Civic Trust (ACT) made up of local volunteers was incorporated. The Civic Trust dealt primarily with planning issues and legislation that may affect the community's heritage. It also gave advice on new buildings and alterations to historic buildings to make sure that the setting and charm of Akaroa stayed consistent. In ACT's May 2004 newsletter it explained its position this way: "The first objective of the Civic Trust is 'the stimulation of public interest in and care for the beauty, history, and character of the town of Akaroa and its surroundings and adjacent countryside'" (ACT 2004b:6).

In 1999, Akaroa was recognized as a nationally important historic area and registered by the Historic Places Trust (ACT 2004a). The history of the Britomart area and the founding of the

settlements around the harbour marked the beginning of Pakeha residence there. The fact that so much of the historic heritage of the town had been preserved made it a unique place to visit or live. Even so, the Civic Trust was concerned with change: “If great care is not taken, the historic character which is Akaroa’s main attraction and which draws increasing numbers of visitors, will soon be altered beyond recognition” (ACT 2004c:3). The threats of development were strong in that area and ACT wished to control it to fit in with the historic character of the town. “New development that is out of scale with the streetscape and which overshadows neighbouring colonial cottages and public buildings detracts from, rather than complements, the historic character of the township” (ACT 2004d:5). This, ACT said, directly affects the local economy. If the historic flavor of the town were lost, tourists would not be keen to come to Akaroa, as there were few other ‘attractions’ in this rural area.

However, the situation was at the discretion of developers. There were no restrictions on someone developing property in Akaroa, except restrictions on the building height (ACT 2004b). The authority to set further restrictions on property development lay in the hands of the District Council, which would have had to change the district plan by passing amendments to the building restrictions that were desired. BPDC had refused to make any changes to the district plan in regards to the importance and need for any protection of the historic area of Akaroa, due to the possible economic ramifications of such an action. ACT disagreed: “The people of Akaroa need professional support from the Council in preserving the landscape and heritage values of this special town for this and future generations” (ACT 2004b:7). As successor to BPDC, CCC had yet to make a determination on these issues.

Even though BPDC, with reluctant support from Onuku *Runanga*, set aside roughly one-third of Red House Bay as Takapuneke Historic Reserve in 1992 (see Figure 5.1), it wasn’t until 2001 that ACT chose to take on the issues around the Takapuneke site (ACT 2004a). Until this time there had not been a connection between the wider multiethnic fabric of the area and the deeper history and heritage behind the façades of historic buildings. According to June Whitfield, ACT had been primarily interested in those issues that dealt with “maintaining the sense of place, character, and heritage” associated with the Akaroa historic area, meaning that efforts had been mostly limited to the French and English contributions to the area. June was a middle-aged, American woman, who married a Pakeha man and moved to Akaroa close to twenty years ago. Her background is in museum work, particularly the bureaucratic aspects of historic conservation. She was very good at

making and keeping contacts, as well as being able to access a vast store of documentation, which she was able to produce in record time. This background had given her especially good skills in volunteering for ACT, either as a member or as its Secretary, a role that she sometimes took on. She was, by far, the most active and visible of ACT's members. June said this about the decision by ACT to get involved:

You look at that landscape, and it's practically all there. And I just thought it's too important at this late date to let it happen. It's too significant. So, we said we'll put a stake in the ground and we'll work towards bringing national awareness about the history of this place, because what else can we do. I mean we don't have the money, we're all volunteers. That's the best we can do.

To promote the history of the site, ACT held joint meetings with Onuku *Runanga* for community members and other organizations such as Historic Places Trust.

One contributing factor in ACT's decision to support Onuku *Runanga* was based on the possible impact of a development at Takapuneke on the infrastructure of Akaroa itself and the character of the area. The land at the site was prime real estate. ACT's concern, according to June, was that the land would go to a foreign investor who would want to build a holiday home that would ultimately bring little money to the community as a whole. She said: "I could just kinda see in the future this big subdivision of suburban houses sprawling across the hillside. And I could see this guy drinking a beer and washing down his boat with his dog in the front yard and I just thought, no this is not appropriate."

It was ACT's opinion that although rates would be paid with the holiday homes, the owners would likely occupy the house for short periods and thus bring no real income into the local economy and add little or nothing to the local culture of Akaroa. In fact, such occupancy could detract from the area by transforming it into more of a holiday destination than a village. This in turn detracts from what Akaroa advertised as interesting about itself – a real rural village nestled in beautiful and scenic country.



Figure 5.1: Red House Bay in respect to Akaroa

At this point ACT decided to make the campaign to protect the entire site bicultural, placing emphasis on both the Pakeha and Maori historical aspects of the area, in order to maintain the heritage of the greater Akaroa area (HPT 2002b). While this brought ACT in line with the position of HPT, the basis for ACT's argument remained tied to the fact that they represented the local community and its history rather than the national context. About this same time, it was announced that the Britomart Memorial was in need of conservation. Also, the history of Greens Point's role in securing British sovereignty was reintroduced by Terry Scott, an ACT member and historian, to the Civic Trust at their annual meeting in 2001. This desire to reflect both Pakeha and Maori historical values at the site was reflected in June's appraisal of ACT's support of the reserve:

So, we started lobbying the Council through oral submissions to say that we supported their recognition of the Takapuneke reserve, and that it showed respect for the Maori heritage because of the significance of that site, but that they had to have regard for their European history. They should hold their European heritage equal to that of Maori.

Even so, ACT was still concerned primarily with the proposed development on the Greens Point land remaining outside of the reserve (see Figure 3.4 above). June said that these issues came down to how the country wants to acknowledge its history: "Do we want a whole set of million dollar townhouses on this site or do we want an area that people can come learn and discuss it." To remedy the situation, ACT proposed that more open space be allocated around the Britomart memorial and the historic reserve. It thought that any development should proceed with caution and

should be appropriate to the site. Yet, ACT proposed that an alternative use for the land such as an education or conference center would be appropriate.

Such a facility could be designed and sited in a manner which would be low impact in terms of visibility from both the water and land while providing ample open space, thus making it more in context with the rural nature, character and amenity of the area (HPT 2002b:n.p.).

Terry Scott then referred to the proposed center in a presentation at the Akaroa Museum in 2005, saying: “It will be a landmark of our common heritage, set in a beautiful, natural environment which many have called a paradise.”

However, ACT conceded that if that area was to be developed as private property then the Council should reduce the number of possible sections by half. They felt there were too many lifestyle blocks in the area, especially considering that this was the most likely outcome for the non-reserved half of the area (HPT 2002b). ACT also suggested that there should be fairly strict conditions on any buildings that were put on those sections. Given that those sections were most likely going to be the next major development for Akaroa, ACT suggested that the overall waterfront reserve should be extended to cover the Red House Bay area (see Figure 5.1). That would allow for development to be easily controlled. In lieu of more open space, ACT proposed, at minimum, that more footpaths should be constructed to connect the Takapuneke Historic Reserve, the Britomart Memorial and Greens Point, including a small parking area and a drop-off point for easy access to those footpaths. These considerations would forestall all of the complaints and community frustration that occurred with other developments in the area (ACT 2004a).

In 2002, ACT supported Onuku *Runanga*’s application for *wahi tapu* registration of the Takapuneke site (ACT 2004a). Takapuneke was registered that same year. The Civic Trust had sent several letters to HPT in order to demonstrate their interest in Takapuneke being registered as a *wahi tapu*. These letters place Takapuneke in a larger historical context that links local bicultural history to national identity, as well as appealing to the visual aspects of Akaroa as a whole, without any mention or reference to *tapu* (ACT 2004a). Yet, this may have been due to sensitivity to the issue of representation, rather than dismissal of the value of *tapu*. June explained: “We’ve been very careful, I mean it’s not the Civic Trust’s right or responsibility to address Onuku’s history. I mean, that’s their history and their right to address it however they feel comfortable. We can give them support and a platform.”

An additional letter of support to HPT from ACT stated that Takapuneke was central to the complete understanding of British sovereignty over New Zealand (ACT 2004a). They argued that this places Takapuneke on equal standing with Waitangi on the North Island as key to the beginning of the a nation. After the community meeting in May 2008, June said:

The European history is equally as important and just as valid. We don't have the same kind of cultural, spiritual associations necessarily. But it's the intertwining of the two histories that make it a very, very important site. So, I think within that framework, we've always said that the Britomart memorial needed to be included somehow in the overall history of the site and the stories that are told.

ACT (2004a) also maintained that recognition of the site would improve Akaroa itself. Its interest was based on maintaining the heritage of the Akaroa area, bicultural history and the idea of national importance. Even with their full support for the protection of Takapuneke, ACT had no formal policy on how to define the site or *wahi tapu* in general. June said that the designation has not made their work any easier, "but it gives a foundation on which to build. If you actually have a registration of that nature it gives credence to your argument basically."

At the same time, ACT, mostly in the form of June Whitfield, had been a steady partner to Onuku *Runanga*. Of that relationship, June commented:

I've been very careful over the years to alert Paora and others as to what we were up to, or what we might be doing to get and seek their approval. So, I mean, I think we've built up a good rapport and a lot of confidence and trust because we've been very careful not to step over the mark. I'm sure we have at times, but [laughs] we are very conscious of that.

Due to her bureaucratic skills and connections, June had been able to assist the *Runanga*, especially in the early stages of the struggle, to apply consistent pressure on those organizations and officials that may have been able to help with the protection of the Takapuneke area. This partnership had been beneficial to both ACT and the *Runanga*, in that they had both been able to move toward the conservation of the area in which they both had interest.

For ACT preservation was important because early settler's narratives and their buildings, which are the most common form of physical heritage in Akaroa, tell the story of the creation of the nation. "They provide a touchstone and a common thread which binds the two major cultures of the country together. This shared heritage is the inheritance that we enjoy today in Akaroa's many preserved colonial structures and gardens" (ACT 2004e:4). It was this shared heritage that ACT was trying to

build and represent through the Takapuneke area; it was the narrative that they have promoted in reference to the site itself based on the more recently constructed bicultural history of the area.

The most recent form of the promotion of this narrative by ACT was in a submission to CCC concerning a study on Akaroa's historic area. The submission suggested that the Akaroa Historic Area should extend from the town's waterfront to encompass the area around Takapuneke, in order to form a "heritage landscape, a cultural landscape" according to June. This submission was done without consultation with Onuku *Runanga*, although June admitted that she did apologize to Uncle Paora for not informing or consulting with him after the submission had been completed.

We can see here how ACT has presented the Akaroa area as a landscape with a historical narrative. For members of ACT, this narrative combines their interest of local heritage protection with the landscape on which they live. This is a direct application of their narrative to their place in order to influence how others may view it, including on the national or even international level. Ultimately ACT's narrative, following their interests, is based on fixing the character and memory of the Akaroa area in the past – English, French and now Maori. This stabilization of their landscape as a historic area secures it against development that might be considered outside of that character and thus perceived as destructive to the community. While acting as a partner to Onuku *Runanga* over the past seven years on the issue of Takapuneke, it is also clear that ACT had its own agenda, which it was also pursuing. This points to the complexity of the relationships that have been constructed in the context of the site.

Banks Peninsula District Council/Christchurch City Council

According to the *Local Government Act 2002*, a district council's enterprise is to provide services that promote the social, economic, cultural and environmental well being in its representative community or communities (www.localgovt.co.nz 2007). This is accomplished through creating planning documents, like the district plan, and consulting with the citizenry in order to make sure those plans correspond to the actual needs of the community. The *Act* also stipulates that local government has to take into account Maori relationships to their culture and traditions, including land, water, and sites of significance.

For the now-disbanded Banks Peninsula District Council (BPDC), *wahi tapu* was a planning issue. The Council primarily had to deal with *wahi tapu* as stated in the *Local Government Act 2002* and

the District Plan. The *Local Government Act 2002* acted as a guide on how BPDC was to make decisions within the district. Part 6, section 77, of the *Local Government Act 2002*, entitled ‘Requirement in relation to decisions’, states that a local authority must have the following considerations when making a decision: 1) must seek all practicable options to meet the objective of the decision; 2) assess those options by considering the benefit and cost to the district of each option along social, economic, environmental, and cultural lines; 3) consider if any of those options involve land or sea and if so, then take into account the relationship of Maori and their culture with those areas under question (Local Government New Zealand 2003). Part 6, section 81, extends this by requiring a council to establish and maintain opportunities for Maori to contribute to the decision-making processes. This allows for district councils to consult with *runanga* or other authorized Maori bodies in order to come to decisions that concern development in areas that have been specified as having Maori heritage value (Mitchell and Salter 2003).

The BPDC District Plan set out the policies on how the District Council ought to handle development issues that arose within the district, as mediated through those requirements listed in the *Local Government Act 2002*. Maori heritage was specified in two areas of the District Plan: *wahi tapu* and ‘silent file’ areas. *Wahi tapu* was defined in the District Plan as “places of sacred and extreme importance” (BPDC 2002:356). While this definition was vague, it was compounded by the fact that *wahi tapu* were a subset of the ‘silent file’ areas in the District Plan. A ‘silent file’ area is “...defined as an area of land identified on the Planning maps which contains a site or sites of cultural, spiritual and/or traditional significance to Maori” (BPDC 2002:354). On some District maps, *wahi tapu* were distinctly placed, as they were openly known sites⁵. In instances where Maori wanted to keep the sites secret, larger or smaller circles were drawn in the maps in the District Plan in order to hide their exact location from the public and the areas remain absent from description within the plan. Each area and *wahi tapu* were different and had to be taken on a case-by-case basis. These areas did not preclude development, but required consultation with local *runanga* before any development could begin. Since the areas were purposely imprecise, development could have taken place within the ‘silent file’ area without disturbing the actual cultural feature (BPDC 2002).

⁵ I am not suggesting that the *wahi tapu* is a specific point, just that the ‘silent file’ area is usually defined in a manner on the planning maps so that there is adequate space around the *wahi tapu* to act as a buffer for any activity. In fact, the *wahi tapu* may cover a smaller or larger area within the space that indicates that the ‘silent file’ exists.

These definitions show the sensitivity involved in planning and development around such areas. Within the BPDC's District Plan, the District Council acknowledged that Maori have a spiritual association with land and water. The Council also realized that this relationship applied to food gathering areas and was related to identity (BPDC 2002). These links between Maori and the land were also seen in the ancestral ties to the land and water through burials (*urupa*) and the naming of land features after ancestors. Sites named for ancestors "... provide a link to the past and by protecting them the *mana* of ancestors can be protected and remembered" (BPDC 2002:43).

The BPDC, through the District Plan, required consultation with Maori, recognizing Maori rights to those sites and resources. This consultation process was to help 'avoid, remedy, or mitigate any adverse effects' through development on sites or resources that were deemed important to Maori (BPDC 2002). By incorporating Maori values within the planning regime put forth in the District Plan, Council tried to generate a greater understanding of those values within the community, while giving Maori greater access to their significant sites.

Protecting Maori heritage was part of the greater plan of maintaining all types of heritage within the district. BPDC was concerned with conserving the ecological, archaeological, architectural and European-based historical heritage as well as Maori heritage (BPDC 2002). Development within any of those zones was meant to compliment the local heritage values to maintain the character of the Peninsula as a whole, as well as the specific traits within specific communities, such as Akaroa or Lyttleton. By highlighting this heritage BPDC desired to bring about an understanding of the greater historical significance of the area within the nation. It also hoped to be able to market this heritage character to tourists to add to the economic viability of this rural area. To enforce this, the District Plan ensured that any development that takes place conforms to the heritage values put forth in the plan, such as keeping buildings within certain character parameters (BPDC 2002).

In chapter fourteen, entitled 'Cultural Heritage', the District Plan (BPDC 2002:75) stated its ideal of heritage:

Cultural and historical heritage provides the context for community identity and enables people to relate to their physical environment and its history. In this way, places and features of cultural and historical heritage provide visible evidence of the continuity of past, present and future. The community has indicated that it values these historic and cultural elements of the District and wishes to retain and preserve them.

The first objective specified in Chapter 14, entitled ‘Cultural Heritage,’ was: “to identify and secure protection for structures, buildings, places, sites and areas which have cultural heritage value” (BPDC 2002:76). This applied to specific subsets of heritage importance such as the French, Pakeha and Maori aspects of Akaroa. This objective was to prevent inappropriate use or development of areas that had been identified as important. However, ‘heritage value’ was determined on a per item basis, which then determined the level of protection warranted. The higher a site’s contribution to the heritage of the district the more protection it was to receive (BPDC 2002).

This was also the case for ‘silent file’ areas. In objective two of Chapter 14 of the District Plan, the District Council agreed to: “protect from inappropriate use and development, the ‘silent file’ areas which have been identified as having significant cultural value for local *runanga*” (BPDC 2002:77). The difference here was that only the local *runanga* decided on which sites were significant. Then it was up to the Council to consult with that *runanga* when development plans dictated. Still, the plan maintained that private property rights and alternative development opportunities held sway over determinations concerning ‘silent file’ areas. “Individual property rights and alternative development opportunities will ensure that reasonable development expectations are not compromised” (BPDC 2002:78).

Objective three complicated the issue by specifying that *wahi tapu* should be protected from damage or destruction. To clarify these issues, the District Plan referred back to the RMA, section 8, which stated that the Council had to take into account the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi that, in turn, urged protection for these sites. Thus the District Plan said: “Waahi [*sic*] *tapu* are important features of the cultural heritage of the District and therefore require appropriate protection” (BPDC 2002:80). To enforce that protection Council retained the right, at their discretion, to restrict resource consents that may have involved Maori heritage sites.

Ultimately these decisions come down to the value placed upon the sites by those involved. It was up to local *runanga* to submit ‘silent files’, which contained *wahi tapu*, for the District Plan. Even though these areas were determined by the value of the site to Maori, the District Council had to rule on the outcome of any development of sites based on the value of each site to the district as a whole. Considering that *wahi tapu* remain unknown to most people within the district and have importance

to a relatively small group, perhaps to a single *whanau*, their perceived communal value to the district on the whole could be seen as negligible.

Even so, the site of Takapuneke was viewed as a probable exception to Council's determination on site development due to the connections between it and the neighboring Britomart Memorial, which was illustrated in the narratives promoted by ACT and HPT. For BPDC, the Takapuneke area consisted of several clearly demarcated sections that were independent of one another. While for the Onuku community Greens Point land and what became the Takapuneke Reserve was one place, for BPDC it was two separate places. Even so, Council agreed to make extensions to the Britomart Memorial and walkways between it and the Takapuneke Reserve (HPT 2002b). When this construction began additional archaeological remains were disturbed and HPT considered filing charges against Council for the damage, because they had previously been warned about construction in that area. As noted in Chapter Three, it was at this time that the Takapuneke Reserve Committee placed a *rahui*⁶ on the Takapuneke area and all activity was stopped (HPT 2002b).

It was also at this time that Onuku *Runanga* suggested *wahi tapu* status for the site with ACT and HPT supporting the notion (HPT 2002b). BPDC did agree that *wahi tapu* status should be applied to the Takapuneke Reserve but not the rest of Red House Bay, leaving Greens Point land out of the designation. In a letter to HPT, Council agreed that the area was of historic importance, both to Maori and Pakeha, but as archaeological examination had shown, the Council argued, the area for development was at a distance from the actual site of the Takapuneke *pa*. The Council further argued that the *Runanga* had agreed to the development with conditions that had been met. Council was concerned that if the proposed development area was registered as *wahi tapu*, the value of the land would drop and their return from the sale of the land would be diminished (HPT 2002b).

In answer to this letter, HPT said that BPDC's view of cultural significance equating to the presence of archaeological remains was limiting in this case (HPT 2002b). The application was not based on archaeological remains but on the human remains that had been burned by Rhodes, leaving ashes of those bodies over the entire bay, which would leave no archaeological evidence. HPT thought that local Maori would continue to see it as *tapu* because of the significance of the events at the site.

⁶ restriction on action in an area

Therefore, they suggested registration of the site as a *wahi tapu*, given that there was no debate as to the importance of the historical happenings that had occurred (HPT 2002b). HPT did note that the status did not preclude development of the area, but that the status did allow for recognition of the value of the site to Maori.

Council maintained that they needed to have a return on the land as it had been purchased with endowment funds with the object of restructuring water supplies to the area that would benefit the entire community. In the Council's opinion, reserving the area without a return would benefit no one (HPT 2002b). In 2004, Mayor Parker informed me that: "This is a classic conflict between economics and an alternative value system." He thought that it was only within the past three years that this kind of conflict had arisen, due to the implementation of the *Local Government Act 2002*. Prior to that economics won any argument.

Now the *Local Government Act 2002* requires any Council to take into account social, environmental, and cultural values as equally important as the economic values of any issue that comes before the Council. The difficulty in the Takapuneke case was achieving a balance between these different values. Council could not relinquish the site as reserves because of the cultural values associated with it, without filling the economic void that such an action would incur. Mayor Parker said in 2004, "The decision on the bay's future needs to take into account all of the values involved." Clearly, BPDC was constructing their narrative of the site partly through the lens of financial issues. While following the laws in regards to recognition and consultation, their interest remained on the possibility of developing the site for a financial return. As noted in Chapter Two, Verdery and Humphrey (2004) argue that the Western cultural imaginary is that land is 'property' and a resource that can be bought and sold. Without recognition of the cultural value given the land by Onuku *Runanga*, the site was simply 'property' instead of a cultural object to be appropriated under alternative values. Therefore, the District Council was simply following its mandate to improve the local infrastructure. Although its view of the site overlapped with that of ACT and HPT it was acting according to its habitus in terms of its economic motive and general interests.

BPDC's suggested compromise was to have an organization such as Ngai Tahu or even central government put up the funds to buy the area at market price so that it could then be placed in reserve status. This would achieve the necessary balance between economics and cultural value. This

compromise would also address another concern of the Council – recognition of the historical importance of the site.

At the July 2004 public meeting at Onuku on the question of the future of Takapuneke area, Onuku *Runanga*, ACT, HPT and concerned citizens insisted on the national and even international importance of the area. Mayor Parker, representing BPDC, said this:

The Council understands the importance of the area locally. But, if it is as important as it sounds - nationally and internationally - if it's one of the most important sites in New Zealand, then other groups need to step forward. It was bought to raise funds. There is nothing we can do, although Kai Tahu could have an impact on this. The HPT higher ups could do something. We need to hear from other organizations on these issues. Many groups throughout New Zealand have sites that are important to them because of history or personal ties. We would be more likely to reserve the site if these claims were substantiated by other organizations, assuming, of course, that we received payment.

Even though Mayor Parker acknowledged the historic importance of the site, economic capital was the key indicator of value with the site at this time. However, we also see that other organizations like Ngai Tahu and 'higher ups' within HPT could have made an impact on the Council's decision. If those organizations had weighed in on the site, the Council would have had a clearer view of the value of the site and could have made its decision influenced by those opinions. Unfortunately, at this point in the struggle over Takapuneke, those organizations did not offer their opinion of the value of the site and the situation became static. In 2008, now Mayor of Christchurch, Bob Parker said: "That was faulty reasoning, completely understandable at the time."

CCC's involvement with Takapuneke

Though the amalgamation of BPDC and CCC has now been completed, the BPDC District Plan and the policy statements made above are still in effect for the Peninsula. A new district plan has yet to be devised under the new amalgamated council. Therefore, all of the issues on *wahi tapu* and 'silent files' remain salient. However, the situation concerning Takapuneke has shifted significantly due to the alleviation of the economic imperative that had been applied to the area of the Takapuneke site. Mayor Parker had this to say in May 2008:

The merger with the city really made that outcome financially of no consequence, which allowed the cultural precedents on the site to perhaps have the mutual goals of the council and the *runanga* brought to a happy conclusion. In fact, when the Peninsula merged with the

city, the land at Takapuneke was given no value in the asset base that was brought over, because it wasn't regarded as valuable because there were no financial plans for the site.

Claudia Reid, the Councilor for the Peninsula, supported this notion:

We have the ability to think at all levels now as a council, because we have now merged with a much larger council. And the smaller councils, in terms of building their infrastructure, tended to focus on the economic outcomes and couldn't pay due regard to environmental, social or cultural concerns. Now the economic provision isn't important. We have the luxury to respect cultural imperatives. That is exactly what shifted the issue. We couldn't think about that then.

These cultural concerns that have been acknowledged by CCC were the exact points of historical reference promoted by HPT and ACT in their historical narratives. Mayor Parker's announcement concerning the District Council's intention to reserve the site in 2005 due to the importance of the site as a historical link to the Treaty and the creation of New Zealand, noted many of those same points. As for the current interest of CCC, Mayor Parker explained in 2008:

We'd like to change it to designation as a reserve of national importance, to recognize the role it played in triggering a series of events that led to the Treaty of Waitangi. We know that that process of the Treaty being signed was triggered by events that took place around Takapuneke, and probably some other places as well, in fairness. The issue that New Zealand was facing, that Akaroa was facing at the time, was that a major colonial power was, several were actually present in the country, the British were the first to try to tie down a contract with the New Zealanders at the time.

The next step, according to the Mayor was interpretation. In reference to the future interpretation of the site, Mayor Parker remarked:

For the Maori people its sacred land, it represents sacred land in which their ancestors were massacred by Te Rauparaha at Takapuneke. I think that was something that we always had to carry in the European perspective as a low moment, albeit an early relationship with *tangata whenua*. I think that we've cleaned that record up. And we have taken the land to another place, a place where it can be guarded by the local *runanga* for whom it represents loss of family, so that the land is basically back in their hands and they will have a controlling role over the future of that land. Then, I believe the next step will be for interpretation and an understanding built around that event that is still not widely understood by New Zealanders, that it was one of the key elements of the development of the Treaty, which is the founding document of the relationship between *tangata whenua* and the settlers. It is the correction of a past wrong.

For Mayor Parker, the issue of Takapuneke, as we can glean from his statements, has been settled.

The past councils responsible for the area had made incorrect, but understandable, decisions regarding the handling of the site. The decisions were based on the information and regard given to

Maori at the time. Things have now changed, as has the local authority's construction of the site. For the head of CCC, the conclusion of the issues concerning Takapuneke will be through its gazettal as a historic reserve or even national historic reserve and its acknowledgment as a precursor to the Treaty of Waitangi. Not only will the gazettal protect the site, but it will also bring closure to the past wrongs done to the local Maori in the area. When asked about the importance of the gazettal of the site as a national historic reserve, Mayor Parker replied: "Making it a national reserve gives us the ability to access funding from central government and it raises the importance of the site in the bureaucratic sense." Obviously, all concerns about the economics of the site have not been alleviated, even as the cultural values of the site are being constructed and spoken of as inherently important.

Conclusion

As stated in Chapter Two, though these organizations seem to be unified in the pursuit of a common goal, they are in fact proceeding according to their own interests toward particular objectives. The non-Maori organizations involved with Takapuneke all have a stake in the successful protection of the site. The process of obtaining that protection has given these organizations the opportunity to build or invest in the way the site is perceived and valued as a cultural object rather than just as 'property'. The historically based narratives promoted by the non-Maori organizations, as illustrated in Chapter Three and in the above discussion, were the focus of investment and claims of recognition for each of these groups.

HPT's investment in the history of the site is based on its interest in national heritage preservation. ACT's promotion of the local history of the area as a unified landscape reflects the fact that they are residents of the area, and thus the history is a representation of *their* history. But their construction of the place also supports their interests in the colonial history of the area, namely the Britomart Memorial and the Akaroa Historic Area, which act as archives of local memory. Takapuneke adds other aspects to that history, which may in the end help to attract other types of assistance and increase visitation to the area. Both of these groups were early to adopt the construction of a narrative based on the history of the site. These efforts were often fulfilled in consultation with Onuku *Runanga*. Though the points noted within the narratives are the same, the emphasis for ACT and HPT's narratives are not. ACT is focused on the local construction of their history and landscape with some notice given to how it links to the national history. If such links were realized

it would likely give them some financial benefit. HPT's interest is based on the national context of heritage protection and recognition. It is not concerned primarily with the local interpretation, but rather how the site can be protected for the nation's population. Part of that protection is the construction of the site in a way that will appeal to the bicultural nature of history as now promoted within the nation.

The Banks Peninsula District Council was more reluctant to accept the cultural and historic importance of the site due to the potential financial implications of doing so. BPDC's main interest was to realize the site's value in financial terms so as to accumulate funds for infrastructural improvements. It could not give up the land without a return. However, amalgamation with CCC in 2007 made those economic concerns inconsequential. Christchurch City Council is financially strong, so the possible economic return on the land at Takapuneke is outweighed by its cultural or historic value. The consistent recognition of the historic value of Takapuneke by Onuku *Runanga*, HPT and ACT, with the additional, if delayed, support of Ngai Tahu and BPDC showed CCC that investment in the site as culturally important was evident. Those factors have led to the decision to protect the area and promote it as a bicultural historic area important locally but also nationally.

However, while Onuku *Runanga*'s future role as part of the management of the area seems to be recognized by CCC, the *Runanga*'s perception of the site may be becoming secondary to the bureaucratic understanding of Takapuneke. Yet, the history of the site became known only because Onuku *Runanga* needed to defend it against the possibility of development. The issue of protection of the site became pertinent because of the possibility of the Onuku community losing their link to their ancestors that had been massacred at Takapuneke. So, while notifying all necessary parties about the history in order to give a rationale for protection, it was not Onuku *Runanga*'s intention for the land to be valued in terms of its link to broader historical events. Their intention was to protect the land as *tapu* and thus their personal ties to the memory of their ancestors. Though none of the non-Maori organizations ignored the designation of *wahi tapu* in regards to Takapuneke, neither did they emphasize it in their history based narratives. As was noted particularly by Ms. Whetu, and reiterated by June Whitfield, the categorization of the site as *wahi tapu* was viewed as a legitimizing label that helped to give credence to their argument of historical importance.

With the conclusion of this chapter we now have a sense of the site of Takapuneke, the parties involved and their perceptions of the site based within their similar but varied constructions of it. I

would now like to return to those theoretical issues that I raised in Chapter Two and apply those concepts to the material that has been presented so far.

Chapter Six

The Progression of Value: Takapuneke in Theoretical Focus

The case of Takapuneke shows the complicated relationships that come from the contested nature of landscape and social processes that are associated with it. As we saw in Chapter Three, there are two central and corresponding narratives by multiple groups that are being constructed around the events at Takapuneke and the surrounding area. One central narrative is based on Onuku *Runanga*'s claim of the site as *tapu* due to the massacre and the destruction of the remains years after. The second historically based central narrative also involves those events, as we saw in Chapter Five, but is actually an amalgam of three separate but closely related narratives by each of the non-Maori organizations. These narratives link the events at Takapuneke to other incidents in the area in order to construct an alternate perception of the place. This latter central narrative is also tied to the creation and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which is considered to be the beginning of New Zealand as a nation.

In Chapter Four, I surveyed the nature of *tapu* as discussed by academic writers and through the view of participants from the Onuku community. We saw that *tapu* has not been consistently understood by the participants in general, but that it has come to have a coherent meaning when applied to certain topics, like Takapuneke, which is based on a notion of respect and guardianship. *Tapu* at Takapuneke was tied to the same behavior that you would have in any *urupa* (graveyard), with the additional caveat of not going there. Onuku *Runanga*'s efforts to reserve the site of Takapuneke were to gain protection for the site in order to preserve the land and its meaning to the Onuku community.

In Chapter Five, we saw that the roles of the three other organizations (HPT, ACT, BPDC/CCC) involved in the issues at Takapuneke were based on promoting the bi-cultural history of the area in terms of a national imaginary. HPT's mandate was to protect and promote New Zealand heritage, showing that their narrative was formulated in terms of legislation and was thus linked to the nature of the state. Similarly, ACT's interests were tied to the idea of preserving the history of the Akaroa area, of which Takapuneke and Onuku were considered to be a part. Due to this inclusive vision, ACT had worked quite closely with Onuku *Runanga* in trying to obtain protection for Takapuneke. Thus, their concerns were based in the local area, but with reference to the national perspective. The local Council, first in the form of Banks Peninsula District Council and then in its amalgamated

form of Christchurch City Council, was obligated by law to take Maori values into account when considering planning issues, though only in balance with other economic, social and environmental factors. Council had to take into account the interests of the wider society to which it was responsible, in order to make the best decisions for that community as a whole. BPDC's decision in that regard was to develop the Takapuneke area in order to raise funds for infrastructural improvements, promoting economic value over cultural. Over time, with amalgamation certain, BPDC resolved to protect Takapuneke. As CCC assumed management of the Peninsula, it accepted the resolution and moved quickly to solidify reserve status for the entire site. Thus, as the power shifted from BPDC to CCC so did the emphasis of the narrative promoted by the councils – from financial to historical and cultural.

Now that the groundwork has been laid, I would like to look at these narratives through the framework of Bourdieu's theory of capital and the concepts of the state and landscape as discussed in Chapter Two. As noted earlier, Bourdieu states that capital is a valued resource that can be used to help a group obtain its specific goals according to a range of possible actions, which he calls *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990). As groups struggle over obtaining those resources, they come to agree on which resources are valuable and how much value they may have. The goal here is twofold: to accumulate capital and to gain the ability to (re)define it. Both of these goals are obtained by positioning oneself in relation to the valuable resources that are available and thus to be recognized as connected to, or as an 'owner' of, the resource. Yet, as struggle over these resources continues, conditions (social, economic, political, cultural) change and we find that there is no definite endpoint the struggle. The struggle can always be renewed. This links with the fact that a group's construction of the their landscape is always being renewed as conditions change. What once had value and was highlighted in their landscape, may fall into disuse or be disregarded and 'forgotten', perhaps only to be 'remembered' at some later time. The continual change in value and landscape creates linkages with the decentralized authority of the state. Again, as people are (re)constructing their land and their landscapes, they come into contact with various state institutions that have authority over various aspects of said landscape. Groups build relationships with those individual institutions with whom they have to negotiate in order to protect or modify their land and their constructions of it. These relationships can both alter the value of resources and be altered by the value of resources, affecting the outcome of negotiations between interested parties.

In order to analyse the issues around Takapuneke, I would like to return to the progression of events in the more recent history of the site, as it shows the process of the narratives being endowed with value.

Accumulating Value

As noted in Chapter Three, the first contemporary point in the progression of events concerning Takapuneke was in 1965, with the construction of the sewage plant at the beach of the *pa*. The events that had taken place there were not well known in the area except by the Onuku community and thus the cultural value of the site went unnoticed by BPDC. Therefore, the land was assessed on its economic worth in terms of BPDC's mandate and interests at the time. The construction of the landscape of Takapuneke was based on the imaginary of it being property owned in the Western sense of title. As discussed in Chapter Two, Verdery and Humphery (2004) argue that 'property' is the basis for private ownership, and presumes control over it and its meaning. Following its habitus, BPDC had accepted that imaginary and affirmed its control over the site by utilizing it for the sewage plant. This action avoided recognition of the *Runanga*'s claim of 'ownership' to the site through cultural value or even the notion that it could be an 'owner' of the site as they did not hold any claim to the title. The fact that Council was the legally recognized owner of the site gave it the power to take this stance. Clearly, this was before policy mandated that Maori interests or values be considered in claims to recognition.

Later, in 1978, BPDC purchased the land above the sewage works and built a rubbish dump at the top of the site. Upon the discovery of archaeological remains the cultural value of the site accumulated some importance, diminishing the economic possibilities there, as law protects those remains. Yet, even after the remains were recorded, BPDC was able to continue asserting its valuation of the land as property until 1998, when it finally recognized Onuku *Runanga*'s connections to the site and thus that the site had some cultural value. The District Council could maintain that the monetary value of the land was paramount as long as it did not recognize, or at least minimized its recognition of, the site's cultural value.

At both of these points, Onuku *Runanga* protested and was ignored. Onuku *Runanga*'s construction of the landscape was based on their memory of the massacre and the association between the land and their ancestors. To the *Runanga*, the land was *tapu*; its value and the community's claim to 'ownership' was based on its cultural and spiritual meaning to the community. Following Low and

Lawrence-Zuniga's (2003) definition of landscape as noted in Chapter Two, the site was a culmination of the community's daily experience based on its historical memory. But here the community's daily experience was one of avoidance. By not going to the site, the community maintained the construction of the site as *tapu* and thus the memories that made the land *tapu*. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Onuku community's reckoning of *tapu* was not consistent in many respects, except for its application to Takapuneke. All the participants agreed that it was a place to avoid. Because how land is used is also part of its construction (Bender 2001), Onuku *Runanga*'s avoidance of the site is an example of its interest in the site. The *Runanga*'s interest was to protect it to preserve those memories and to respect the *tapu* that was embedded there due to the events at the site.

Given HPT's interest in the preservation of national heritage, its accounting of the archaeological remains was satisfied after their survey was completed and reported that no damage would come from the dump. Though it was clear that those features were Maori, there was no connection with the Onuku community at that time. The Onuku community had thus not been able to use its link with the site to attract attention for its interests. The *Runanga* did not have sufficient cultural capital to secure its interests with regards to the site to achieve its aims in having the site declared a reserve. However, it is clear that there was cultural value associated with the site, based on its archaeological, and thus historical, aspects that had been recognized by HPT.

In 1992, the District Council sectioned the area for housing development and reserved the archaeological site. By this point, the connection of the site with Onuku and the archaeological remains was solidified, as is noted in HPT's archaeological report in that year. While this is the first 'official' recognition of that relationship, Onuku *Runanga* had been bringing issues around the site to the attention of the District Council whenever the site was being discussed since the time of the sewage plant's construction. By bringing their construction of the landscape to the attention of the Council they were able to start accumulating cultural capital and thus, were able to shift their position in relation to the other actors in the field of struggle and gain recognition as closely associated with the site.

By 1992, it was HPT's practice to consult with local Maori before any development took place. This was also due to the general rise in various species of capital of Maori that had been accumulating at an accelerating rate over the prior 15 to 20 years, since the beginning of the 'Maori

Renaissance'. While the Onuku community had never really been part of the outspoken protest politics of the Land March or the later Bastion Point encampment on the North Island, all Maori, including the Onuku community, did benefit from the increased awareness of Maori issues, especially in terms of rights to land (King 1985).

Bourdieu (1998:15) calls this change in the value and distribution of capital in a field a change in 'structure'. Since the Maori Renaissance in the late 1960s, there has been a shift in the structure of different species of capital in order to reflect the increasing value of Maori culture, language and ideals. For instance, activists during the Renaissance emphasized the importance of retaining Maori language, creating language schools for children and by also introducing the use of Maori words into the everyday language of New Zealanders, like *whanau* (family) or *kai* (food). In general, this shift was based on the introduction of Maori culture and practices into New Zealand society through the actions of Maori people (King 1985). So, not only did the structure of capital change, but the level of agency that Maori was able to command had increased as well. As legislation changed, starting with the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975* through the *Conservation Act 1987* and the *Local Government Act 2002*, Maori had consistently gained more power to exercise their opinions on issues concerning them, including land management, development and resource use. This is evident in the fact that legislation concerning the cultural values and beliefs of Maori were being put into place. The promise of consultation had been a driving force in mediating those issues and others. More importantly, it was not just the opportunity made available by such legislation, but the fact that Maori, like Onuku *Runanga*, took advantage of those opportunities to make their opinions known.

As illustrated by Seider's (2001) Guatemalan case study in Chapter Two, such a shift in power within society causes an evolution of how the state is imagined. As Maori were able to exercise their agency in new aspects of society and in the bureaucracy, governmentality within the nation had to accommodate this, transitioning from a Pakeha imagined state to a bicultural one. These changes then affect how bureaucratic institutions and citizens interact with one another, thus changing how citizens imagine the state (Foucault 2006; Hansen and Stepputat 2001). For instance, HPT's inclusion of *wahi tapu* on the Register and its policy on consulting with Maori on issues concerning them (as noted above) is an example of the new bicultural governmentality. This shift in power can also be seen as a change in the habitus of bureaucratic institutions interacting with Maori. As the bicultural governmentality became codified into law (see Chapter Three, page 67) the range of available actions for bureaucratic institutions began to reflect those new conditions, such as the

mandate to do nothing inconsistent with the principle's of the Treaty as stated in the *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986* and the *Conservation Act 1987* (Orange 1989).

The cultural capital available to the Onuku community rose again in 1995, when Harry Evison, the noted historian, wrote several pieces for *The Press*, the South Island's most widespread daily newspaper. Because HPT had become aware of the connection between the Onuku community and the site of Takapuneke three years earlier, any wider recognition of the importance of Takapuneke also meant a rise in the cultural capital available to the Onuku community in particular, adding to the general gain of capital that had been occurring since the Maori Renaissance. As representatives of the Onuku community, Onuku *Runanga* was the public and bureaucratic voice able to harness the increase in cultural capital available to Maori when dealing with the District Council or HPT about issues concerning Takapuneke. This led to Onuku *Runanga* gaining power and being recognized as a 'player' in the struggle over Maori issues in the Akaroa area, with a particular emphasis on Takapuneke.

This new position of Onuku *Runanaga* in the field of struggle became more apparent in 1998. By this time, BPDC had held negotiations with Onuku *Runanga* in order to come to an agreement on closing the dump and on the appropriate way to apologize to the Onuku community for the Council's past behaviour at the site of Takapuneke. As a way to make amends, Council resolved to set up roughly 1/3rd of the area as a reserve. This section eventually became the Takapuneke Reserve in 2002. For the BPDC, this was a shift in the recognition of the value of the land. Instead of constructing it as a commodity, the reserve land had to be constructed as heritage with each group making claims to recognition of deep connections with said heritage. As Forty (1999; Kuchler 1999) stated in Chapter Two, this reproduction of the area creates it as an archive of the events that had occurred there. Coinciding with the shift in value from commodity to heritage, the ownership of the site would forever become the responsibility of the local authority, namely the District Council and later CCC. Yet, its responsibility became not to create infrastructure as had been originally planned, but to maintain the community memory (Verdery and Humphery 2004). The issues over Takapuneke are illustrative of the struggle to define and interpret those memories, now that there are multiple players interested in it.

Even though Onuku *Runanga* was one of the players with recognized interest in the site, it was unsure of how far it could move toward its interest of protecting the entire site and decided to settle

for what it was offered as the Takapuneke Reserve. Additionally, it agreed to lift the *tapu* on the adjacent area of the site, which the District Council was planning to develop. As Uncle Paora said in Chapter Three, this compromise is something of which he has come to be ashamed.

This set of events – the partial protection of the site, the apology and the subsequent lifting of *tapu* – was viewed by BPDC as the closure of issues concerning the site of Takapuneke. To use Kuchler's (1999) idea, we can see this as an 'erasure' of the conflict over the site and of the misdeeds that led to the site being mishandled. Since the site was being protected, Maori could be content with their small reserve and the District Council with its ability to develop its portion of the site. The *tapu* lifting ceremony over the Greens Point land was considered a prompt for the District Council to continue with its plans unabated.

In essence, for BPDC the events at the site had become 'mobile memory' (Kuchler 1999), detached from the land itself. Yet, because the District Council recognized the cultural value of the archaeological remains, its conceptualization of the memory was wholly re-embedded in a portion of the land through the creation of the Takapuneke Reserve, leaving the Greens Point land to remain unconnected to the events. For Onuku *Runanga*, however, the memory and the events had always been firmly grounded in the entire site, which acted as the material embodiment of those experiences.

Regarding the *tapu* lifting that occurred on a portion of the site, Firth (1972), coinciding with Shirres (1994), contends that *tapu* objects retain their *tapu* even after *tapu* lifting has occurred. To relate this back to Firth's ideas about social value, the *tapu* lifting on the Greens Point land did not remove or change the social value of the object. In fact, performing the ceremony enforced the social value of the site through its performance by marking it as undeniably *tapu*. Furthermore, this set of events was pre-dated and complicated by a prior erasure at the site of Takapuneke, which occurred when Rhodes burned the remains at the site. According to Kuchler's (1999) view, with the burning of the remains, the bones became ash and thus moved from material remains to the realm of mobile memory. The understanding of Onuku *Runanga* is that those ashes covered the entire bay, settling on the hillsides above the water and implanting the bay with *tapu*. Thus the entire bay is considered *tapu* by the Onuku community. Yet, here is where I differ from Kuchler's conception of memory moving from material to mobile for the case of Takapuneke.

In the event of burning the remains, there are two sides to the event. For Onuku *Runanga*, the material (the bones of those massacred and other material remains) moved to another form of material (ash) which *temporarily* formed the remains of the massacre, and thus were never truly separate from the land. Yet, for Rhodes and those after him in the Pakeha community, that act of erasure was final, leaving the land open for development and use. For the *Runanga*, interpreting the event more than a century and a half later, as the ash settled on the hill the memory rematerialized producing a new object of memory – the land itself as *urupa*. The *Runanga* considers that the entire site has been *tapu* since the time of the burning of the remains. Consequently, the entire bay around the recognized Takapuneke site has been reconstituted as a site of memory. Bender and Winer (2001) and Low and Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) argue that this too is part of the struggle, because memories tied to Takapuneke relate directly to how the landscape can be reproduced within society. We need to remember that if the subject of memory is not given the appropriate amount of value to sustain itself in society, then its erasure from a community may be complete over time, even if material remains exist. Onuku *Runanga*'s efforts were aimed at ensuring that this did not occur with Takapuneke.

Although we can see that Onuku *Runanga* had gained the ability to engage with the District Council at this point, the *Runanga* did not yet have the power to demand or negotiate to the point of its own satisfaction. At the same time, we see that the Council's power to dictate terms to local Maori had now come to an end. The legislation mentioned above, as well as the shift in the structure of capital in society, no longer allowed them to do so. Maori, in general, had gained a powerful status that had been institutionalized. Therefore, the positions of power within the field of struggle had become unstable. Yet, as the *Local Government Act 2002* states, how the results of consultation with Maori would be enacted, or indeed if they would be enacted at all, was completely up to the discretion of the local authority. While the local bureaucratic institutions like the District Council maintained high levels of political capital, groups like Onuku *Runanga* were accumulating cultural capital that could then be converted to political capital, allowing them to challenge others on issues important to it.

As pointed out in Chapter Two, Sharma and Gupta (2006) argued that the decentralization of the state could partially help to explain these opportunities and shifts in the structure of available capital. If the central government in New Zealand was a monolithic power, as is imagined by society through its daily interactions with various institutions affiliated with the state (Hansen and

Stepputat 2001), then this case study could be explained through the more heavy handed theoretical stances of dominant groups oppressing or repressing minority groups and their subsequent resistance (Bourdieu 2003; Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). However, due to the power of Maori in the wider society after the cultural, political and economic growth that has occurred since the 1960s, that kind of dynamic is no longer applicable in some cases of Maori interaction with bureaucratic institutions.

Instead, Onuku *Runanga*'s experiences throughout the progression of networking with both bureaucratic and civic institutions illustrate that these issues can be understood by looking at the complex relationships that are based on negotiation and cooperation (to varying degrees) between the *Runanga* and those institutions. Hanson and Stepputat (2001) assert that as the state becomes decentralized, the public becomes more governmentalized. This type of social governmentalization can be seen in the *Runanga*'s interactions, showing that it has a certain amount of agency that continues to grow, as it is able to successfully interact with those bureaucratic institutions. Not only that, but as those interactions become more frequent, Onuku *Runanga* changes, and is changed by, the process of interaction. As noted above, bureaucratic institutions were also changed due to the increasing recognition of Maori culture, history and rights, leading to a change in the habitus of bureaucratic institutions.

In part, this governmentalization of the *Runanga* is demonstrated in the way that the organization is run. There are offices, secretaries, meetings, minutes, letterheads, memos, etc. All of these ways to enact bureaucracy have been adopted by the Maori leadership organization in order to make interactions with other organizations more likely to succeed. In this sense they have been building cultural capital by showing that they can conduct their affairs in the ways required by the bureaucracy. So, there has been a social governmentalization taking place among Maori communities that allow them to take on this role of representing their respective groups. The successful adoption of bureaucratic technique and methods by Maori has also had an effect on those same techniques and methods. For instance, when meetings are convened, especially public meetings, there is most often a *karakia* (opening prayer) to welcome everyone to the meeting and to thank the *atua* for their presence. This recursive action of appropriation from both sides results in a different form of interaction for both sets of groups. In the end this may result in a more harmonious conclusion to issues as they will have created conjoined paths of recognition,

negotiation and resolution. I will give more examples in detail below, when I give an account of the 26 May meeting concerning the gazettal of Takapuneke.

The point here is that both Maori and bureaucratic methods of interaction are evolving in order to make interactions between the two more workable. This is not resistance, but a method of Maori *Runanga* creating and exercising alternate forms of agency, as shown by Yang (2005) in the Bunan case study in Chapter Two. This has certainly been the case with Onuku *Runanaga* and the bureaucratic and civic institutions with interests in Takapuneke. We can see this in the example of the *Runanga*. In addition to the practical actions listed above, the fact that the *Runanga* has pursued its goals according to the rules of the politically dominant group is an important point here. They have tried to disregard the methods of “those troublemakers up north”¹, with their arguments surrounding *tino rangatiratanga* rights, and replace them with practices based on *kaitiakitanga* and the role of host, which they see as more proper, bringing about a reconciliation between Maori and Pakeha forms of cultural capital.

However, we should also be aware that *kaitiakitanga* is often restricted in its English translation, which tends to focus on the resource management aspect of guardianship, leaving out the relationship aspects that are emphasized by Onuku *Runanga*. For example, the *Conservation Act 1987* defines *kaitiakitanga* as the preservation and protection of natural and historic resources so as to maintain their intrinsic values and to provide for their appreciation and enjoyment by the public as well as their future (Boland, et al 1998:132). This is usually accompanied by the idea that such areas should be set aside as reserves so that the landscape can be managed appropriately (Roberts et al 1995; 12). Preserving land in this manner goes against the Maori ideal of *kaitiakitanga* as a mode of sustainable use. Mereta Kawharu (2000:352) says that this limited view of *kaitiakitanga* often means that the concept is misunderstood, leading to it being misapplied. The state’s incomplete application of *kaitiakitanga* as noted in the above policies, then restrains its construction of the landscape to ‘property’. Yet, it is clear that the Onuku community views the relationship aspect of *kaitiakitanga* as legitimate and that, in their minds, if they are ever to gain protection for Takapuneke they must continue to try to sway those in power to whom they can get close by that method. So, not only has the structure of available capital changed, but also how those species are enacted have also changed. While the idea of land as property (and thus as economic capital) is still

¹ This is a term I heard often to refer to those Maori who protest by chanting slogans, holding banners and blocking the paths of politicians. The most obvious example of this type of protest can be seen on Waitangi Day at Waitangi.

a thoroughly recognized category by both Maori and Pakeha, Maori conceptualizations of land through *kaitiakitanga* as something other than property (and thus as cultural capital, for instance) have initiated an alternative option for constructions of land.

As the cultural value of Takapuneke grew through this progression of events, other groups became aware of it. This awareness allowed the non-Maori organizations to appropriate (or further appropriate) Maori forms of agency in order to build on their own cultural capital, borrowing the rising, recognized Maori cultural resources. For instance, Akaroa Civic Trust, a local civic group, made a decision to take part in the struggle over Takapuneke because their interest in heritage and conservation links well with the efforts to protect Takapuneke. Not only does the history of Takapuneke tie in directly to the Britomart Memorial, which ACT cares for, but it bolsters the history of the larger area as well. For members of ACT this is not just about protecting history – it is about protecting *their* history. Any development that took place on the Greens Point land would have affected the Britomart Memorial as well as the Takapuneke site.

As local residents, ACT members could view the history associated with Takapuneke and the events that followed as an ancestral link to the area. Those events led to the settlement of Akaroa and its surrounds. The remains of that early settlement are the heritage that ACT is attempting to preserve. In part, the preservation of their history is accomplished by constructing that history through the events and where they happened, whether it's specific settler's homes in town, historic shops, government buildings, or the land at Takapuneke. So we see that ACT did not accept the importance of the issues around Takapuneke merely to support Onuku *Runanga* in their efforts, but also to help produce the construction of their own landscape around the Akaroa harbour that they wish to protect. Here we can see the multiple layers of landscape as they are negotiated within the area (Thomas 2001); each group basing its landscape on its interests and building relationships with other groups in order to fulfil those interests. Tilley (2006) states that as those relationships develop a group's conceptualization of its landscape may change. ACT's vision of the Akaroa area had to be recreated to accommodate the Maori view in addition to the English and French views already present. This example, along with the previous one concerning the *Runanga*, illustrates that this process of governmentalization is flowing in both directions, with each group taking on those aspects of the other groups that they find valuable in achieving their goals.

The *Runanga* and ACT constructed their landscapes along slightly different paths, but both did so through promoting their interests at meetings, in media (especially ACT's newsletter) and by talking about it at every opportunity. Onuku *Runanga* constructed their landscape on the basis of the *tapu* of the site and their relation to it as *kaitaki*. ACT constructed their landscape through a focus on local colonial history and its links to national history. They thought that assisting in the protection of Takapuneke with the possibility of linking the site to the Britomart Memorial and perhaps even the Akaroa waterfront through a 'historic area' registration, might produce what June Whitfield called a 'heritage landscape'. This heritage landscape tells not just the story of the local area but also how the local area is tied into the birth of the nation and the creation of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Akaroa is already a major drawing point for tourists to the area on the basis of its historic value and heritage features. Adding a national historic reserve to the area that both pre-dates and leads to the Treaty of Waitangi would augment the cultural value of the area based on that history. The cultural capital that could be derived from that history and reserve could be turned into economic capital quite easily with proper promotion of the site to potential visitors. Although ACT's efforts to protect local heritage was genuine, it is easy to draw links to the potential economic benefits available from the site, as reflected in their suggestions of building an educational center near the site to inform the public about the 'bicultural foundations of modern New Zealand'.

Returning to the progression of events at Takapuneke, there were four points of importance that occurred in 2002. First, BPDC officially reserved one portion of the area as a Local Purpose Historical Site in fulfilment of Onuku *Runanga*'s original 1998 request, now supported by ACT. This portion of the site had been unofficially protected since that request until this point (see Chapter 3, page 73). While this was recognition of the cultural value of the site by BPDC, the official gazettal of the site was done according to law rather than due to recognition of the value of the site itself. Also, because the archaeological remains and sewage works at the bottom of the site and the remains of the rubbish dump at the top of the site, that portion of the area had a diminished economic value. This change in BPDC's perspective on the site reflects Tilley's (2006) assertion, made in Chapter Two, that landscape is produced and reproduced according to social and political contexts, which will then influence the understanding and interpretation of such areas.

By 2002, Onuku *Runanga* had gained a firm position on the field of struggle. Therefore, BPDC could no longer discount the *Runanga*'s requests and reserving the site was a way for the District

Council to partially accommodate their wish to protect the area. A secondary result of gazetting the site in 2002 was that the District Council was able to accumulate some cultural capital itself by supporting the protection of a site important to Maori, accessing some of the same Maori cultural values, as had the *Runanga*. Moreover, we see another layer of meaning added to the landscape for the local public, both Maori and Pakeha, which lends support to the link between the Takapuneke area and the broader historical events of the Treaty and colonisation and giving credence to the historical narrative promoted by BPDC.

Second, the site was registered as a *wahi tapu* by HPT. HPT supported the *Runanga*'s views on the site when it accepted the application and added the site to its Register. As we saw earlier, though *wahi tapu* sites are not offered any type of protection through registration, there was a general consensus that registration gave a group some negotiating power in reference to the site (see Chapter Five, pg 119). Registering the site with HPT gives some legitimacy to a site as a place special to Maori in, at least, one of the ways listed within the legislated definition. To summarise the statement by Ms. Whetu in Chapter Five: it is a layer of acknowledgment that heightens awareness of the site based on the position of HPT as an agency of the state within society. As HPT's role in the nation is to recognize and conserve the country's heritage, they have been accepted by society as able to designate 'legitimate heritage.'

This means that HPT, like ACT above, not only conserves the nation's localized and national heritage, but also produces it. HPT has the nominating ability that Bourdieu says is important in reproducing the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:17). Sites that are accepted on the Register are viewed as 'New Zealand heritage.' By registering sites, HPT constructs the types of places or buildings that society understands to be its heritage by appropriating them into the 'national historic identity'. The 'layer of acknowledgement' noted by Ms. Whetu is a layer of cultural capital that can then be accessed by a group affiliated with the site or building. ACT is an example of this in using their historic area registration to promote the French and British heritage of Akaroa for tourism. Onuku *Runanga* has used that additional layer of cultural value to bolster their ability to negotiate over Takapuneke's protection. In this way official recognition of heritage value by the state not only demonstrates its power to define that value, but also channels power to those groups associated with such sites. Governmentality is thus both a manifestation of power and potentially empowering for subaltern groups.

For the bureaucratic and civic organizations involved with Takapuneke, the registration of a *wahi tapu* thus adds a legitimating layer for their narrative construction of the area. It acts as a signpost that points to the fact that an event of significance to Maori occurred there, supporting the current notion of a bicultural history of the harbour. For HPT, this is a fulfilment of its mandate and thus shows that it was successful in conserving this piece of the nation's heritage. For BPDC, registration was a step away from the likelihood of the realization of the economic value of the site and was perhaps *the* step in which the cultural value of the site began to outweigh the economic value. This is reflected in the fact that the District Council did not promote the sale of the Greens Point land even though it could have done so at any point. Yet, the possibility of amalgamation with CCC also played a role in BPDC's decision to not promote the site for development. Even in 2002, there was talk of amalgamating the Peninsula with Christchurch city. If there had been no possibility of amalgamation, BPDC would have had to sell the Greens Point land in order to update any of the water-based infrastructures of Akaroa. Since the amalgamation was already being considered, the difficult issues surrounding Takapuneke could be postponed until the decision on amalgamation had been made. Amalgamation would pass along any of the difficult decisions over the site to the next council and thus alleviate the responsibility of any further misdeeds from the District Council.

ACT's position was affected slightly differently than the other three non-Maori organizations because registration also added another feature into the construction of local landscapes. After registration, that land had the potential to be known as 'special' to Maori, even if the exact nature of the relationship between Maori and the site(s) was uncertain outside of the Onuku community. Registration added another layer of meaning in ACT's construction of landscape that reflected their new relationship with the *Runanga*, as well as the Civic Trust's new bicultural and historical narrative of the area.

While the Onuku community has been aware of the nature of the site of Takapuneke since the massacre, their idea of it was as a place that was restricted from use, a *tapu* site, a place to be avoided, and this belief is still current. ACT, on the other hand, was unaware of the nature of the site and had to adjust its perception of the landscape to fit this new construction of the place by HPT through its concept of *wahi tapu*, but also through the construction of the site by the *Runanga* as *tapu*. Luckily for the members of ACT, the site's history made it easy for them to incorporate it into their construction of the wider landscape. While they could understand the codified policy based

concept of *wahi tapu* and its implications for their work as a heritage group, ACT could also respect the *tapu* of the site as understood by the Onuku community by not going there and by not speaking out of place about its history. June's statements in Chapter Five exemplify this position (see Chapter Five pages 129 and 132, for example).

This also gave ACT an opportunity to cooperate with Onuku *Runanga* for the benefit of both groups. Following Morphy's (1993) contention in Chapter Two, even though they had different foci for their respective narratives, ACT and Onuku *Runanga* both constructed their landscapes with the shared interest of Takapuneke as a site that should be protected from development. While the question of how and why that protection was necessary may have separated them, the site itself was a point of cooperative action. Therefore, the registration of Takapuneke as a *wahi tapu* was an opportunity for all the groups involved with the site to potentially take advantage of the cultural value available, albeit for different ends.

The third aspect of the developments in 2002 was that a *rahui* was placed on the area by the BPDC appointed Takapuneke Reserve Committee. While the committee accomplished virtually nothing other than being potentially prosecuted for disturbing archaeological remains as discussed earlier in Chapter Three, its last act of proclaiming the *rahui* was done in consultation with Onuku *Runanga*. The *rahui* was based on the belief that the events at the site were still too fresh in the memories of the community and that work there was inappropriate until it was determined that the community was ready for it. This effectively ended the life of the committee and it was not reconvened for later developments associated with the site. However, the important point here is the fact that all parties involved with Takapuneke had respected the *rahui*.

Lastly in 2002, ACT and Onuku *Runanga* attempted to use the now officially recognized status of the site, which had added to their cultural capital, to circumvent BPDC by trying to gain support from central government for proclaiming the entire Takapuneke site as a national historic reserve. This was done through letter writing and communications with the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and high-level members of HPT. Getting national recognition for the whole site and financial support from central government to purchase the site from BPDC would have alleviated local fiscal difficulties, which was the District Council's chief concern. At the same time, such recognition by agencies in the central government would have resulted in a major accumulation of cultural value for the *Runanga*, allowing it to outweigh the economic value that it represented for the BPDC.

Again, we can see here how both ACT and Onuku *Runanga* would have benefited from this exchange. However, ACT would have had the additional benefit of the protection for the Britomart Memorial and thus the historical link between the Takapuneke site and the memorial in order to support their bicultural construction of the landscape and the accompanying narrative. Also, due to the links between the two sites produced in ACT's narrative, the historical value of Takapuneke and the Britomart Memorial would have merged, strengthening the value of the site as well as its construction of the history of the area.

This step of interacting with another bureaucratic institution by the *Runanga* and ACT further illustrates the decentralization of the state (Foucault 2006). As they had been building a relationship with the local bureaucratic agent in the form of BPDC, but without the results each of the groups found acceptable, the two groups attempted to build relationships with institutions that shared their interests and had authority on a national level specific to heritage. In a unified state, changing the point of contact would not affect the outcome. However, as it is individual institutions within the bureaucracy that have the ability to act according to their interests (like heritage, for instance), citizens have the chance to build relationships with those institutions (or even local offices of larger, national organizations) that best reflect their own interests. For the *Runanga* and ACT, it made more sense to appeal to the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and HPT in order to protect the whole site, rather than continue to pursue a relationship with BPDC who had continually balked at protecting the entire site due to its economic interests. Yet, in order to make such an appeal, the *Runanga* and ACT had to be confident in the cultural importance of the site and its potential for recognition. HPT's recognition of the site as *wahi tapu*, support for the *Runanga* by the local HPT officers, and BPDC's gazettal of a portion of the site allowed them to have that confidence.

Even so, from the end of 2002 until early 2005, there were no physical changes to the site. This was due to two factors: the *rahui* and the anticipated amalgamation of BPDC and CCC. However, the values associated with Takapuneke were consistently progressing throughout this time due to the efforts of Onuku *Runanga* with the help of ACT and the support of HPT. The *Runanga* continued to meet with the District Council as well as other agencies in order to promote its views on the site and to gain support for its interests. ACT and HPT's contributions were to offer logistical support and official contacts to the *Runanga*. These relationships were mutually beneficial, allowing all three groups to move toward the goal of protecting the entire site. As the *Runanga*'s narrative linked easily with the historical narratives supported by ACT and HPT, the history of the events and how

they linked to the wider historical events of the Treaty became the vehicle for communicating Takapuneke's importance. With each telling, the site gained historical and cultural value and each of the groups linked themselves to the site more closely and constructed it in a way that suited their interests. As we saw in Chapter Two with Strang's example of the river management groups, the boundaries between the groups involved with Takapuneke have become unclear. These 'fuzzy' boundaries allow constructions of the site to overlap, with groups seeming to take on aspects of each other's stances, but allowing them to promote the value of the site as it relates to their independent interests.

In July 2004, there was a meeting that was illustrative of the struggle over the site. The meeting was held at in the *wharenui* at Onuku *marae*. Present were local councillors with the addition of Mayor Parker, ACT members, *Runanga* members, a representative from HPT and a representative of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture, which as noted earlier manages cultural resources on behalf of all New Zealanders. The fact that the meeting was held in the Onuku community's *wharenui*, rather than the District Council's chambers or meeting room, is important. This shows that Onuku *Runanga* has gained enough capital and had exercised enough agency with those involved to be firmly positioned in the field of struggle. In addition, it shows that the positions in relation to the site were not fixed. Instead of the Mayor and other bureaucratic representatives being the focus of agency and power in the meeting, the playing field had been levelled, with Onuku *Runanga* taking a central role in the meetings planning and execution. Onuku *Runanga* had been working toward this, and it indicated that they were now in a position of power from which to promote to others their understanding of the meaning and value of Takapuneke.

Even so, at this meeting Mayor Parker made strong statements on the economic aspects of the site. Although he called for other organizations to acknowledge the site's cultural importance, he emphasized its economic importance from the Council's point of view (see Chapter Five, page 139). This focus was not going to change, he indicated, unless other organizations that had links to the site, such as HPT and Ngai Tahu, were willing to step forward and support it. The support that Parker was looking for was not only for the cultural value of the site, but also financial backing to alleviate the economic burden to the local economy.

Conversely, Uncle Paora also spoke strongly about the value of the site, again using history to illustrate its importance. His point, which he reiterated at the end of his speech and which was

supported by many in attendance, was that the site should be set aside as a reserve due to its importance and that protection should not have to be bought. Here is a clear example of the struggle between Onuku *Runanga* and the District Council over the status of Takapuneke; the one emphasizing historical and cultural value, the other monetary value. The meeting itself was convened to find a compromise to this struggle. Another function of the meeting was to ascertain how to obtain protection for the site through recognition of its historical and cultural importance as being of greater significance than its economic potential. Unfortunately for the *Runanga*, at this point, the economic value of the site remained paramount, as far as BPDC was concerned. Still, the continued efforts of Onuku *Runanga* and ACT helped to build the *Runanga*'s ability to exercise agency and refine its bureaucratic methods to do so. The July 2004 meeting in particular showed a strong effort on the part of the *Runanga* to openly challenge the District Council on its valuation of the site and its lack of support for its protection.

These meetings had an additional benefit for Onuku *Runanga* in that they helped it to reinforce its status as *kaitiaki* of the area, including Takapuneke. But as explained in Chapter Four, Onuku's conceptualization of *kaitiakitanga* was about more than managing local resources; it was about managing their relationships with others. Though it had solid support from ACT and HPT for its efforts to protect Takapuneke, taking a direct approach at the July 2004 meeting was a way to solidify those ties and build others. Even though Uncle Paora challenged Mayor Parker to dismiss the economic value of the site in favour of its cultural value, he was still concerned with building a relationship between the *Runanga* and the Council. The difference, at this point, was that that relationship had shifted to more equal footing that it had been previously.

Mayor Parker's surprise announcement on Waitangi Day in February 2005, on the importance of the history and the need to protect Takapuneke was a concrete shift in the Council's attitude towards Takapuneke. This was followed almost a year later, just before amalgamation with CCC, by the District Council's resolution on making Takapuneke a historic or national historic reserve (see Chapter 3, page 80). CCC accepted that resolution based on the site's local and national historical, archaeological and cultural value. The Minister of Local Government, who officially changed the designation of the endowment so that gazettal could go through, supported this sentiment and resolution the following year. Here again was recognition of the cultural value of the site with additional value now being added.

The Minister's approval also reflects Bourdieu's (1994) ideas concerning the path and legitimacy of bureaucracy. The process of reserving the site had five main bureaucratic steps: resolution to reserve the site by BPDC, the first local nominating authority; the decision by CCC to support that resolution after the amalgamation of the two councils; the change of land designation by the Minister of Local Government; approval of the land designation and the decision to reserve the land by CCC; and lastly, approval of the reserve status by the Minister of Conservation, who administers power in this regard under the *Reserves Act 1977*. Each of these institutions has been given its authority by another agency within the bureaucracy in order to fulfil a role mandated by policy (Bourdieu 1994). It is this kind of continuous process of recognition and authorization that helps to perpetuate the idea of the unified state in the public mind (Hansen and Stepputat 2001). However, these steps further reveal a decentralization of power within the bureaucracy by spreading out the nominating power to different agencies within the state structure (Hansen and Stepputat 2001; Foucault 2006).

Yet, these agencies are arranged hierarchically. Onuku *Runanga*, or any other Maori or non-Maori group, could not go to the Minister of Conservation to apply for gazettal of a site on its own. Any organization must go through the 'right channels', starting with the local authority and moving through various agencies with differing levels of authority given to them by legislation or other authorities (Hansen and Stepputat 2001). CCC has their authority through the *Local Government Act 2002* among others. The Minister for Conservation has to sign off on gazettals under the authority of the *Reserves Act 1977*, and even Onuku *Runanga* can attribute some of its power to act to the various Acts that have institutionalized the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and those that support consultation with Maori on issues that concern them. Yet, all of these Acts have been legislated by Parliament, still another nominating authority. We can see that there are complex relationships of power between these authorities that make it easy to imagine them as a unified authority (Sharma and Gupta 2006; Bourdieu 1994). But through the case of Takapuneke we can see that instead of a unified authority, Onuku *Runanga*'s efforts to save their local *tapu* place has been based on the relationships they have made with individual bureaucratic or civic groups that offered support or challenged them.

26th May Submission Hearing, Gaiety Hall, Akaroa

The public meeting held on 26 May 2008 at Gaiety Hall in Akaroa offers a further chance to illustrate the theoretical issues related to the state, landscape and capital. I would like to explain the

meeting in some detail here. The meeting was to hear submissions (eight for gazettal, none against) on the resolution to gazette the entire Takapuneke site as a historic reserve. This would combine the areas known as the Takapuneke Reserve and the Greens Point land into a single reserve.²

CCC had delegated the Akaroa/Wairewa Community Board to hear public submissions, as is required under the *Reserves Act 1977* for the purpose of public notice and consultation. At the meeting five Pakeha officials (four men, one woman; one Community Board Member, the Counsellor for the Community Board, a CCC representative, and two moderators) were seated at the front of the meeting room to hear the submissions. Mayor Parker was not in attendance. After the meeting, the Counsellor for the Community Board admitted that this set up was very ‘colonial’ and that she had been uncomfortable with it.

The meeting started with a *karakia* (prayer) given by the TRONT³ representative there in support of Onuku *Runanga* and in place of Mark Solomon, the *Kaiwhakahaere* (Chairman) of TRONT. This was quickly followed by quick instructions on the order of speakers – Maori speakers were first, followed by non-Maori community and organization members. First to speak was Uncle Paora for Onuku *Runanga*. The main parts of his speech have been related in previous chapters, but I would like to summarize his main points. He started with thanking those who had supported the effort to protect Takapuneke from development and who continued to do so, including CCC. However, he did state that even though Mayor Parker now supported the protection of the site that he had been a part of the problem all along. Uncle Paora regretted that the Mayor wasn’t there to make a statement or to hear the submissions. He then told the story of the massacre and spoke about the sorrow of Takapuneke. He also said, “This is not a second Waitangi. But it did start here...All of this came from the massacre. This place is significant because of that.” Uncle Paora ended by reading some of the submission from Harry Evison, who was too ill to attend, which stated that the interpretation of the site depended on accurate historical information being represented at the site. After Uncle Paora ended his speech and sat down, every one murmured ‘*kia ora*’ in response. Saying ‘*kia ora*’ in this context acts as an acknowledgement of that speaker and what they have said. This is much like saying ‘thank you for speaking, I understand your position.’ It was said after every submission at the hearing.

² This does not include the Britomart Memorial, as it is already a historic reserve. However, if the area goes on to be nominated for national historic reserve status, it will be included at that time.

³ This is an acronym for Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu. As noted earlier, this is the consolidated council of the Ngai Tahu *iwi*.

The next speaker was the representative from TRONT, James Tikao. James Tikao acknowledged Uncle Paora's points and added that management needed to be rigorously planned with Onuku *Runanga* at the heart of all planning and decision-making. He ended his submission by saying, "We have a chance to determine how history will be written and rewritten here." The third speaker introduced herself in Maori and then reiterated all of the points already made with one addition. She held up a copy of *Tikao Talks* and said that every official up at the table should be familiar with it.⁴ The reason she gave for this was that the *tohunga* (priest) Tikao represented the last of the 'old Maori wisdom' in the area and the book contains that wisdom and, more importantly to her point, all of the old names for the area. With that, she stated that the reserve must be named Takapuneke and all other names should no longer be used for that area.

Ms. Whetu from HPT spoke next. She also introduced herself in Maori first and then in English. She briefly recounted HPT's involvement with the site from the first archaeological surveys to the more recent *wahi tapu* registration. Her concern was that any management of the site had to include Onuku *Runanga* and take into account all the 'layers of history.' She also called for the site to be named Takapuneke, even if the area went on to become a national historic reserve, under which name the Britomart Memorial would then be subsumed. Ms. Whetu concluded the Maori submissions.

ACT member and historian Terry Scott started the non-Maori submissions. His submission was short, saying that "it's primarily Maori but it involves us [Pakeha] too." The next ACT speaker was also a historian, who first spoke about ACT's position as the "principle advocacy organization" for heritage on the Peninsula. This speaker had been involved with ACT and Onuku *Runanga* during the struggle for recognition, and he pointed out that gazettal will help to bring out the "broader heritage landscape" of the area. He finished by saying that the reserve would be a public asset for education, social and cultural uses and tourism.

The last speaker for ACT was June Whitfield. June started her speech by talking about the links between the European history and the Maori history, but qualified this by saying, "but Maori were here first and we need to tell those stories as Onuku feels it should be told." Following this she

⁴ Uncle Paora stated that he had donated two copies to the Council.

reiterated the idea of connecting the Akaroa waterfront with the Takapuneke area in order to create a “historic area that gives greater understanding to New Zealand of the entire area.” She concluded her submission by saying that council “needs to think past the lines on the map because this is beyond property values. It is deeper and more meaningful.”

The last speaker was an older gentleman from another Akaroa society, the Friends of the Akaroa Museum. He made only a few points. First, protecting the site could bring in money to the museum and help to preserve the history of Akaroa. Second, he believed that Takapuneke should be considered part of the history of Akaroa. And lastly, he said that his family “had been in the area since 1850 and this was part of their history too.”

As a way to wrap up the proceedings, one of the members of the panel gave a quick recount of the BPDC’s involvement and how CCC wanted to plan for the future of the harbour, with Takapuneke being part of that larger plan. He ended by stressing CCC’s involvement in changing the infrastructure (sewage and water) in the near future as it was not only an issue for Takapuneke, but for the whole harbour due to the environmental impact of the sewage plant. The chair of the Community Board ended by thanking everyone and saying, “it was just another piece of land, but now we know the significance of the site over the past 15 years. It was just a bit of land to help pay for everything. We have heard everyone say that Onuku needs to be at the center of this and we will pass that on to City Council.” The chair asked if there were any other comments and Uncle Paora stood and said, “We’ve been around a long time. Time doesn’t matter. But sooner, the better. We have a strong relationship with Akaroa and we appreciate them.” This was followed by a *karakia* by James Tikao and the meeting was adjourned.

This meeting represents several of the theoretical points that I outlined in Chapter Two. We can see some solid indications of the recognition of Maori culture within the bureaucratic process. Michael King (1985:14) states that the resurgence of Maori cultural value from the 1970s onwards, allowed Maori to forcefully express their identity and cultural concepts, rather than suppress them. This new awareness of Maori values and ambitions compelled adjustments in the ways that institutions interacted and acknowledged Maori culture (King 1985). More generally, King has argued that Pakeha identity in New Zealand incorporates a significant Maori element, Maori words, values and ways of doing things. One example of this recognition is shown in the meeting through the use of

the *karakia*. While the meeting was held in the usual Community Board meeting space instead of a *marae*, there was still a *karakia* to start and end the meeting. Starting a meeting with a prayer might seem unusual due to the fact that New Zealand is usually considered a secular state. However, *karakia* are accepted because the value of the prayer is not in its religious nature, but rather as a part of Maori spiritual culture.

Another example of this acceptance was the response of ‘*amene*’ (the Maori version of the Christian closing ‘amen’), by both Pakeha and Maori after the *karakia* was recited. Similarly, everyone at the meeting gave the response of ‘*kia ora*’ after each speaker. Although originally introduced to Maori by colonists, the seemingly minor recreations of Pakeha culture in the case of reciting ‘*amene*’ is part of a widespread acceptance of the importance of Maori culture and values that are reflected on a larger scale in the acceptance of Maori-focused legislation, the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Treaty principles as mentioned throughout this dissertation. Elite consumption and production of Maori concepts shows that those concepts have been accepted as having value in society (Morris 2002). This shows that at least a portion of Maori spiritual culture has been legitimated within the bureaucracy and therefore has symbolic capital, a process that started with the Maori Renaissance in the late 1960s (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Here we see how Maori culture has been indelibly affected by Pakeha culture, but also how those concepts are being filtered and intensified through the process of Maori gaining value in society.

In Chapter Two, Hansen and Stepputat (2001) argued that as citizens build relationships with bureaucratic institutions, they are able to learn appropriate methods of interaction. We can see that Onuku *Runanga* and other Maori at the meeting had appropriated bureaucratic methods. They had made proper submissions in writing, asked to be heard, showed up on time, and spoke at the appropriate time and in the appropriate manner. Ngai Tahu had coordinated the time and date of the meeting in conjunction with the offices of Onuku *Runanga* and the Community Board, to ensure that all parties could attend. This governmentalization of Maori shows that bureaucratic practices are helpful to Onuku *Runanga* in exercising its agency. It was able to attend to the issues concerning them in the appropriate methods when necessary. The mixture of Maori and Pakeha practices in the bureaucratic setting shows that power is not fixed within just one of those groups, but rather that each has a stake in the construction of the relationships between them.

As for the content of the meeting itself, the narratives told were not new. As Stewart and Strathern (2003; Bender and Winer 2001; Tilley 2006) and others stated in Chapter Two, each group's ability to promote the values represented in their narrative helps to determine whether that narrative will be advanced over others. While the hearing was not voicing new constructions of the landscape of the Takapuneke area, it was acting, once again, to produce those narratives that have been constructed in a public forum, assisting them in accumulating additional value. This shows that these narratives are not just descriptive but productive as well. The narratives are resources that help each of these groups to make sense of their experience. For instance, Uncle Paora used the massacre at Takapuneke to show why the land is *tapu* and to emphasize that as the site's value. Although every speaker after Uncle Paora also mentioned the importance of the events at Takapuneke, they then spoke to its connection to the larger history of the area, emphasizing their version of the historical aspects of the site. The only other mention of the site as *tapu* was by Ms. Whetu when she recounted the HPT's registration of the site as *wahi tapu*. However, even this was given as an opening statement before enumerating the historical significance of the site to the nation. Clearly the focus here was on the historical characteristics of the site, shifting it away from the *tapu* emphasized by Uncle Paora.

Two points were made apparent at the hearing: that Onuku *Runanga* should be part of the management of the site and that the site should be officially named Takapuneke. Both of these suggestions could be considered as advantages to Onuku *Runanga* in that they show recognition for the importance of the site to Maori, even if not of the *tapu* directly, and for Onuku *Runanga*'s relationship to the site. Even though the majority of the submissions reiterated the site's construction as a bicultural place of historic value, both of these suggestions (supported by all the submitters) placed some of the cultural value of the site on the side of Onuku *Runanga*. This was true of the hearing in general. As there were no submissions against the gazettal of the site, every submission supported Onuku *Runanga*'s effort to protect the site and to be part of its future, reinforcing the *Runanga*'s position in the field of struggle. This may be the beginning of the realization of a new type of governmentality for the Akaroa area in which Maori have equal standing in making decisions on issues concerning them.

This, again, shows the instability of power in the field of struggle. There is no fixed hierarchy of domination. None of the groups represented in this case has a secured point of power over any others. Maori are no longer a group subordinate to a dominant state or even dominant bureaucratic institutions. This case shows us a struggle over how the field will be defined and how power will be distributed in reference to the site of Takapuneke. This means that there is no current resolution to the issues surrounding the Takapuneke area. Of course, the site seems to be moving toward gazettal, but if and when that is secured, the interpretation and management of the site are going to affect how the site will be imagined within society. This leaves us with a few possible outcomes for the site and those involved with it.

Potential Results of the Struggle

One potential result of these processes is that the gazettal of the site as a historic reserve will promote the non-Maori historical narratives, shifting away from the local Onuku *Runanga* interpretation of the site as *tapu*. The fact that CCC, HPT, and ACT support corresponding narratives based on the historical aspects of the site makes the cultural value of those narratives strong, especially as Onuku *Runanga* does not oppose the history they are promoting. The promotion of these narratives over the *Runanga*'s narrative could act as another attempt at erasure of the significance of the site, but that will depend on how the Maori significance of the site is interpreted (Kuchler 1999). However, given the evidence given throughout this study, this seems like an unlikely outcome.

One component of that interpretation is the disjuncture between the Onuku community's conceptualization of Takapuneke as *tapu* and the bureaucratic notion of it as *wahi tapu*. *Tapu* is a fluid concept that differs with each *iwi*, *hapu*, and even *whanau*. While there are some objects and places that are consistently considered *tapu*, like *urupa* and the *whare* for instance, variation is common. *Wahi tapu*, on the other hand, is a legislated term in the *Historic Places Act 1993*, making it part of the bureaucratic language and nominating it as the legitimate term for Maori *tapu* places within the bureaucracy. While the legislated definition is broad, that definition is tied to a list of types of places to which it can be applied, making those places legitimate *tapu* places, while others may not fit the definition. This appropriation of places puts limitations on the fluidity of Maori understanding of the concept, changing it from the localized, Maori form to a general, codified form.

So, to gain recognition and therefore cultural value for a *tapu* place, Maori must apply to the HPT, attempting to fit their *tapu* place into the legislated concept of *wahi tapu*. This may alter their own understanding of *tapu* in order to fulfil the requirements of the bureaucratic *wahi tapu*. In a sense this is a matter of cross-appropriation: each side trying to fit certain characteristics into the proper form in order to fulfil its needs. The Runanga are attempting to shape their claims in terms of HPT guidelines in order to gain recognition of the site and themselves as guardians of the site and thereby granting them recognition as ‘owners’ of it. On the other side are the non-Maori organisations that are offering practical, materialistic categories on which to base management and planning schemes in order to fit within the law. To assist in this endeavour, they have reflexively appropriated Maori cultural practices to a minor extent, giving them the advantage of the rising Maori cultural capital. Again, the boundaries between the groups had grown fuzzy, with each scavenging from the other each bit that it found helpful in achieving its goals.

As for *wahi tapu*, when Onuku *Runanga* or any other Maori entity deals with a bureaucratic agency, the official term used is *wahi tapu*. Every time that term is used in a meeting or written in legislation or a memorandum to an agency, the term gains legitimacy. The end result here is that cultural value is being drawn from places designated as *wahi tapu* without any solid link to the individualized Maori concept of *tapu*. The bureaucracy has created the world of meaning concerning *wahi tapu*, appropriating the concept into its own conceptual model. It has become part of the official language, which is being recreated every time it is used or publicized (Bourdieu 1977).

The disjuncture between Onuku *Runanga*’s understanding of *tapu* and the legislated concept of *wahi tapu* could be viewed as a way the bureaucracy is co-opting a Maori cultural concept in order to add a legitimating layer to land in order to show its bicultural leanings. This way allows non-Maori organizations involved in the struggle over sites like Takapuneke to take advantage of the ‘extra’ cultural value that becomes available with that categorization. We can see this as a possible interpretation of how the bureaucratic and civic organizations involved with Takapuneke acknowledge that the site has been registered as a *wahi tapu* and then put their emphasis on the historical events that followed the massacre.

This disjuncture reflects a broader theme in Bourdieu's (1977) work that encompasses the ideas of capital, field, and (re)production – the dichotomy between theory and practice. The 'practice' is simply how agents enact their habitus in a particular context. The 'theory' is the 'official account' – it is what people have been taught about the world and how the world 'ought' to be. Landzelius (2003:206) calls this 'official account' a metanarrative, which is propagated by the hegemonic systems (education, media, etc) of the state. As with capital, those with power have the authority to set the boundaries, not to mention the details, of the official account and therefore perpetuate their power into the future. Part of this process is the subordination of any localized histories or micronarratives that may work to undermine or challenge the metanarrative (Landzelius 2003:206).

Once a form of the metanarrative is accepted, all the other fragments, such as minority contributions, alternative interpretations, or distasteful facts like massacres, can be dismissed. This transforms the metanarrative into what Landzelius (2003:204) calls the 'social imaginary', which is a vision of society that it accepts as legitimate. This then acts as a reaffirming base where groups can make further claims to legitimacy and political power. For example, as Takapuneke becomes a detail within the national metanarrative through the reinterpretation and appropriation of local history (i.e. as a site of events that eventually led to a need to sign a treaty between Britain and Maori), its own history as a culmination of Maori events as *tapu* on Banks Peninsula may be omitted.

Curucci (2001:97) argues that even in the event of alternative histories being recorded by legitimate sources, they can be subsumed within the metanarrative. He states that history is embedded in the present. The further away in time an event gets from the present, the more objectified it becomes. However, this objectification becomes mediated by a group's relatedness to the event. If it is something close to the group, the objectification will be slighter than if the event is not related to them (ibid). Therefore, as time goes on, if the value of the site of Takapuneke is drawn from the history but not from the *tapu* status of the site, society will understand and accept the history of the site while overlooking the importance of the *tapu*. Thus, as the public learns the new rendition of history it will become possible for them to recall the site as one of the ingredients in the birth of the nation, just as Waitangi on the North Island. The site then becomes a part of the national metanarrative managed by various institutions, such as Historic Places Trust, who are affiliated with the imaginary unified state that is the end result of this metanarrative. If the detail of the site as a

registered *wahi tapu* is mentioned at some point, then that definition is available through HPT, the agency that specializes in the nation's heritage.

In situations of contact between different groups such as with colonial New Zealand, the colonial power diligently attempts to assert its own legitimacy and authority over those it is trying to colonize. In post-colonial societies, domination has often shifted from overt coercion and physical violence, for the most part, to symbolic manipulation of capital (Bourdieu 1994:4). This symbolic capital, according to Bourdieu (1994:10), is the strongest power for consecrating and institutionalizing things, including cultural 'objects'. Reinterpretation has the same effect, with perhaps a greater influence on the culturally dominant group's ability to legitimize the event or place, due to its use of seemingly legitimized sources for the reinterpretation. In the case of Takapuneke, these sources could be counted through published histories of the area and the legislated concept of *wahi tapu*.

If the potential interpretation of the site is realized in favour of the historically based narratives promoted by the non-Maori organizations, then they will likely benefit depending on how the interpretation is constructed. For CCC, the benefit will be to have an important (and potentially nationally recognized) historical site under their purview. They can then access the cultural value of the site to promote the heritage of the area in order to accumulate more cultural capital, which could also be converted into economic capital through tourism. ACT would benefit in similar ways, but on a smaller scale particular to promoting the heritage of the Akaroa area and tourism there. HPT's benefit would be more removed in that it would not benefit directly from tourism. However, its part in securing the protection of the site and advocating for it, as mandated in the *Historic Places Act 1993*, would be recognized and therefore would assist in bolstering its own value in social and political spheres. Onuku *Runanga* would also benefit from this result. The site would be protected from development, its primary goal, even if the emphasis of that protection was not applicable to them. This may affect the *Runanga*'s ability to access the cultural value associated with the site and minimize its ability to exchange it for any type of capital in the future.

Yet, there is at least one other possible outcome for the issues surrounding Takapuneke. There is the potential that Onuku *Runanga* has accumulated enough power through this progression of events, and by using its status as *kaitiaki* to the site, to gain a strong position in reference to it. Furthermore, if the *Runanga* does gain that position it will be able to access the cultural value that has

accumulated in the site itself in order to support its position in the struggle. From such a position, the *Runanga* would be able to influence the interpretation and management of the site so that it reflects its interest in the area, resulting in an additional accumulation of value for both the site and the *Runanga*. This then puts it in a position to negotiate the protection and to guide interpretation at other possible sites or in other issues that arise. The processes that are occurring through the struggle over the site may, in the end, produce a stable position of power for Onuku *Runanga* within the Christchurch and Banks Peninsula area.

This follows as well for the disjuncture between *tapu* and *wahi tapu*. We can view the codification of *wahi tapu* as a genuine attempt by the central government to cater for a Maori cultural concept within the bureaucracy (Rowlands 2004). Doing so allows for a clear recognition of such sites as *tapu* in a form that is recognizable to other agencies, namely the legislated form of *wahi tapu*. As such, it is no longer an amorphous Maori concept, but rather a legally defined term which is workable within a bureaucratic framework. As a legitimate concept recognized by bureaucratic organizations, Maori, like Onuku *Runanga*, are now able to access that concept when trying to make claims to land. Yet, we must keep in mind that the *Runanga* is not asserting *tapu* for political ends but because it still places value on the concept, which as we saw in Chapter Four equates a kind of respect for places like Takapuneke. The fact that *tapu* land is now contested makes that *value* political, rather than reflecting any political stance taken on by the *Runanga*. Therefore, in respect to Takapuneke, the *Runanga*'s value has not so much changed as has the context.

Even if the designation of sites as *tapu* is shifting to *wahi tapu*, Maori groups may be able to continue to use the concept when negotiating with agencies. Moreover, as with any legislation, if the concept does not produce the desired results, then it can be redesigned and codified under the new design. As Maori gain more power and a greater ability to exercise their agency within bureaucratic realms, with the addition of a change in governmentality that recognized that power and agency, they may be able to have a strong effect on the path of those types of legislative opportunities.

As the struggle concerning Takapuneke is currently in progress, it is not possible to indicate which group will have the authority to construct the boundaries of the new interpretation of the area. Indeed, this is part of the struggle. Landzelius' (2003) claim that any micronarrative that challenges the macronarrative will become subordinated to it, can only work if the hierarchy of power is fixed.

The issue here is that not only is the local interpretation of history not fixed, the ‘official account’ is no longer fixed either. Takapuneke represents that larger struggle as well, in that it may be added as a precursor to the current construction of the nation starting at Waitangi. While the events at Takapuneke do not challenge that history, it does add another element to the story, which would therefore have to be reconstructed to recognize that element. Additionally, Takapuneke is being purported as representing the bicultural beginnings of New Zealand. This call to biculturalism is another aspect of the current struggle to interpret the nation’s history. How can all of these different histories be told in a way that gives proper recognition to each group with a stake in the broader history of the nation – the ‘official account’?

The key here will be the interpretation of sites like Takapuneke. The interpretation of such sites forces those interpreting the site to make those narratives into a reality, to put them into words on panels and decide what they should mean to those reading them. Yet, this will not bring a conclusion to Takapuneke or any other such site. Those narratives and constructions of sites can always be reinterpreted and reconstructed. What it does bring, according to Bourdieu, is a stabilization of the field of struggle (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). But such stabilizations are temporary. When a group in a field attempts to change the dynamics through using or accumulating capital, the field can become unstable once again.

For Takapuneke, this means that even if the site stabilizes with a historically based narrative emphasized over the *tapu* of the site, Onuku *Runanga* can attempt to change that by exercising their agency through *kaitiakitanga* and their governmentalized actions as they have done in the past. As we have seen throughout this thesis, Onuku *Runanga* has shown a particular resilience in continuing to struggle to promote the cultural value of the site until they reached their initial goal of protection. Everything points to them continuing to do so. To summarize two points by Uncle Paora at the 26 May hearing: Protection is only the first step and time doesn’t matter. These two points show that the *Runanga* have been, and will continue to be, willing to struggle in order to protect what they consider important.

Conclusion

I noted in the introduction that Takapuneke offers us an opportunity to explore the ways that groups (re)construct and help accumulate value in the construction of the significance of a place. In this thesis I have shown that this is not an easy task, as both the construction and values shift according to conditions within the field of struggle. The case of Takapuneke shows us how notions of value change, transform and progress, evolving from a very localized Maori cultural value to a widely recognized bicultural value. While this progression was ushered in by the larger events within New Zealand as Maori have gained a political, social and cultural standing, Onuku *Runanga*, with help from ACT and HPT at times, exercised their agency to gain cultural capital in order to convert it to a position of power within the struggle over the site of Takapuneke. This position of power helped to balance the relationships between the individual organizations involved with the site. As the struggle over the site is still in progress, I can only offer possible solutions that will act as temporary stabilizations of the field. Yet, in any such stabilization there is always opportunity for more negotiation and change by any of the groups involved.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

This thesis has shown how the constructions of a landscape accumulate value as well as the complex relationships between groups and power that are produced from that process. My focus has been on the relations between Onuku *Runanga* and three non-Maori organizations with a particular focus on the *wahi tapu* site Takapuneke on the shores of Akaroa Harbour.

In order to understand the data gathered in this thesis, I used several analytical tools. The conceptualization of landscape discussed in Chapter Two allowed me to theorize Takapuneke as a contested landscape with multiple layers of meaning, as well as a cultural object into which value was being invested by Maori and non-Maori groups interested in the site. The site was perceived and understood by those groups in different but corresponding ways that led to conflict over its protection and its future construction as a site of significance. Yet, each of these groups was also building relationships with one another through their connections to the site.

Because of the relationships between Maori and the state and civic institutions that had interests in the site, it was necessary to investigate the context through the notion of the state. The theories of the state showed that the bureaucratic institutions were not a unified whole as is often imagined, but rather a complex web of decentralized relationships with which the citizenry had to negotiate in order to live their daily lives. As such, it was made clear that Onuku *Runanga* was able to build various types of relationships with each institution individually as was needed to protect the site. Because the *Runanga* was working with several different organizations at the same time, it was able to cooperate and compromise with each non-Maori group without affecting relations with any of the others.

As a way to unify the notions of the state and landscape, Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital and field gave me the ability to understand how and why the value of the site and the relationships held between the involved groups progressed over time. As the site's cultural value grew, each of the groups tried to associate themselves with it in order to take advantage of its significance in ways that would benefit them. As the value of the site grew, so did each group's desire to control the layered meaning of the site.

As well, this thesis has shown that the context of Takapuneke is in process, much like the constructions of landscape and relations between the state and citizens. This means that there is no definitive conclusion to these issues, but rather that they are (re)constructed and (re)produced as social, political, economic and other conditions change. In fact, Onuku *Runanga* has been an exemplar in showing how reality can be reconstructed as conditions shift on the field of power. As conditions continue to shift, so will the temporary stabilizations that are negotiated over topics like the interpretation and understanding of the place of Takapuneke within the national landscape. For the bicultural standpoint of New Zealand, this may prove to be the state of affairs for some time to come.

I would like to conclude this thesis by contrasting where state and Maori relations began in New Zealand and where they are now as of 2008. I would also like to speak to some implications these issues may have for the future.

Where We Began: the Colonial State

As we have seen, landscape is multilayered through the meaning placed on it by various groups within that landscape. Each group works to maintain its idea of landscape by recreating it over time. This can become problematic when more than one group claims meaning to a specific section of land. Even as the landscape changes in response to conditions, each group is trying to keep its construction viable in society.

European colonial contexts, like New Zealand, are good examples of this multilayering framework. Europeans came onto the newly colonized land with well formed ideals of how the land should look and how it was to be manipulated to fulfill that vision. European notions of land ownership and tenure came with them as they crossed the oceans to their new home. Promises of vast open spaces only spurred individuals into coming to the new countries to start anew with a piece of land that would be theirs to do what they were able, constructing it through those ideals brought from Britain.

In New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi, which allowed for an internationally recognized right for Britain to occupy New Zealand, was the firm establishment of British law on the burgeoning nation. This Treaty would be the original basis used for further occupation by Britain, but occupation would eventually begin to cause problems.

Prior to the Treaty, the massacre occurred at Takapuneke. Te Rauparaha convinced the captain of the *Elizabeth* to bring his men down to capture his rival, Te Maiharanui, the *Upoko Ariki* of Ngai Tahu at the time. Little did the captain know he was being manipulated by the Ngati Toa *rangatira* so that he could further his plan on conquering the South Island in order to ensure his trade with the Europeans as well as the supply of *pounamu*. The massacre that followed saw the eventual death of Te Maiharanui and the near end of Ngai Tahu in the Canterbury region.

By the time of the Treaty, settlers were firmly established on the South Island after having made arrangements to purchase or lease Ngai Tahu lands. As the colonial government solidified its power in the country by controlling the land through legislation and, sometimes militaristic, authority, it was able to begin the process of naturalizing its authority over the national space and all those within it. It was during this time that the colonial power was governmentalized in such a way as to solidify British power as legitimate, leaving Maori to be relegated to the position of subordinate to that power. At this point, the nation's territory was already being produced to fit the colonial models of how land should be perceived and what should be done with it. Yet, Maori were challenging this construction of land soon after the Treaty was signed. We also see at this point the beginnings of social governmentality in that Maori were already sending correspondence to officials and engaging means of struggle other than warfare¹. This process would carry on as Maori became more entrenched in the processes of trying to retain their lands.

When Maori *iwi* showed a reluctance to sell large blocks of land, the state established the Native Land Court to begin the process of legalizing and individualizing title to Maori lands. This process of entitlement often caused conflict within *whanau* and *hapu* due to the Court's requirement that individuals make claims of rightful ownership to what were often considered communal lands by Maori. The downside to these disagreements was that by the time the groups had gone through the courts to gain title, to pay for the process they then had to lease or sell off the land because of costs incurred. So not only were the families divided, but also the land was out of their reach.

This process worked well for the colonial state. It deflected the question of whether the new nation had the authority or right to enact such legislation and placed it firmly among the different sections

¹ Though tensions did, of course, erupt during the Land Wars, as mentioned in Chapter Three.

of the Maori population who were stuck in such communal infighting as mentioned above. The practice of individualizing title also thoroughly installed the idea of private property in the New Zealand national landscape. Even though it had been an ideal of the incoming Europeans, the state still had to work to naturalize and legitimize the idea over the new nation. Confirming the notion of private property through legislation disallowed for further conflict over indigenous claims on the land claimed by settlers. Of course, this was a time when Maori were not expected to survive more than one or two more generations, nor did the state consider that Maori would continue to challenge them on the ownership of tracts that were now being settled by immigrants. We can see here that the Maori construction of land as communally owned was quickly disappearing under the rubric of private ownership and the hegemonic processes of the Land Court. Yet, again Maori were trying to exercise agency in order to maintain or regain their land and some semblance of sovereignty as promised by the Treaty.

By creating the Native Land Court, the Crown was allowing for Maori to voice a kind of dissent to their authority without handing over any real power. Yet, even in cases where Maori were able to regain lands and keep them after paying off survey costs, the larger issue of planting the concept of private property in Maori had been accomplished. Maori further legitimized the colonial concepts, like the Court and individualization of title, by participating in the process and adhering to its outcomes. In fact, they had no choice, as Pakeha had become the dominant group in power and in numbers. There was little chance of outright resistance other than that allowed by the colonial state.

This was a definite statement about the agency of Maori in the New Zealand landscape. Although the Treaty and its power to preserve Maori notions of governance over themselves and their lands had been disputed since shortly after the signing of the Treaty, the impression that the Treaty would ensure Maori sovereignty was no longer held by many Maori. This was solidified in practice in the mid-19th century as the courts disregarded the Treaty when they ruled that it had no bearing in law. This, of course, led to continuing conflict between Maori and Pakeha not only over land, but all aspects of relations between the two groups. As the dominance of the state grew, the chance for Maori power waned. However, this does not mean that Maori stopped struggling for their interests. In fact, we now have a distant enough perspective from many of these early events to realize that Maori actively asserted their rights throughout this time.

This was the colonial state throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century, where the Crown was the dominant power and Maori were an indigenous group subordinate to it. However grim this view of the nation's past can seem, in general Maori did exercise their agency through peaceful methods in line with the colonial government's processes. Here we should make sure to not read subordinate as completely powerless. Through this section of New Zealand history, Maori continued to communicate their desires and ideas about their lands and reform of their position in society in general. More than that, they survived the colonial encounter to continue the struggle for their physical and cultural lives. The issue here is that while the state was attempting to legitimize itself, it did not have the ability to allow or accept alternative views of land or political process as Maori were offering and often demanding.

Where We Are Now: Revisiting the Question

Where we are a century later is quite a different picture from that overbearing dominant power of the colonial state suppressing Maori. As a post-colonial nation, New Zealand has moved past the primordial dichotomy of state versus Indigenous Peoples. Instead, I have shown how the nation represents a complex web of interaction and negotiation between Maori, who have actualized their agency and are supported by legislation to do so, and the bureaucracy. As I noted throughout the thesis, the state cannot be viewed as a unified dominant power. Instead, the state consists of individual bureaucratic institutions that mandate and legitimize other institutions to fulfill certain functions. Thereby, when a local group, such as Onuku *Runanga*, want to pursue its ideals in protecting a site that is significant to it, it can attempt to build the necessary relationships with individual institutions. It is these relationships that are the basis for negotiation over the outcome of local issues.

Therefore, the theorization of the state allowed me to understand the decentralization of power through bureaucratic institutions within what is imagined as the unified state. Since the state is not the unified dominant group with the nation, with Maori being in a subordinate position within the state, I was able to show that there is far more subtlety in how Maori and non-Maori relate to one another over points of struggle. Throughout the progression of events at Takapuneke, we can see points of negotiation (e.g. between BPDC and Onuku *Runanga*) and partnership (e.g. ACT and the *Runanga*).

Moreover, these relationships have changed according to the social, political and economic context at the time. In this dissertation, I have shown that as Maori in general, and Takapuneke in particular, gained more cultural value, the relationship between Onuku *Runanga* and the non-Maori organizations has shifted to a set of more even positions. One reason for this is due to the desirability of being closely positioned to the site of Takapuneke as potentially nationally valuable cultural landscape. According to Bourdieu (1994), close positioning allows a group the ability to define or construct the site in line with their interests, e.g. through a historic narrative or a narrative based on the site's *tapu* status as we saw in Chapter Three. This positioning also reflects the ideas of ownership introduced in Chapter Two. As each group constructs its narrative in its own specific way, it is making a claim for 'ownership'; that is, it is making a claim as to why it should be closely associated with the site and therefore have some power over it and its future.

The reinterpretation of Takapuneke in the non-Maori narrative reflects the interest of being affiliated with the site by advancing the construction of the nation as bicultural and the acceptance of Maori history, in the form of Takapuneke, as a part of the national metanarrative. This acceptance of Maori history is also an appropriation of it. By making it a part of the metanarrative, the non-Maori groups are claiming it as part of their own identity in the form of the national, bicultural identity. All of the non-Maori organizations have positioned Takapuneke in the potential opening of the national metanarrative. Currently Waitangi holds the primary position in the birth of New Zealand, but if this new interpretation of events is promoted and accepted then Takapuneke and the Akaroa Bay will share that honour. The positioning of Takapuneke in different narratives by several groups reveals the multiple layers of meaning that have been constructed at the site.

The contested nature and multiple layering of Takapuneke are made evident in the analysis through landscape theory. As the struggle over the site was based in the different views of land as 'property' versus land as *tapu* (which as we saw was a different kind of claim to 'property'), it has been important to understand how these conflicting views can be held and promoted by various agents within the context. This multiple layering, in combination with Bourdieu's conceptualization of stabilization, is also helpful in understanding the point of time where this thesis ends, as the next step for these groups will be to determine some form of interpretation of the landscape. While this interpretation will also be malleable over time, it will be necessary for those involved to decide whether or not to construct the events in a way that will include them in the metanarrative. This is where the theories of the state reconnect to the layering of landscape. Again, with the understanding

of the decentralization of power, we can see that the struggle over meaning is not necessarily locked into a dynamic of one group against the other. Instead, as we can see at Takapuneke, it is more a matter of different groups aligning in various ways to construct the landscape in similar ways while sharing an understanding of how those layers overlap or correspond.

Moreover, this case is about different groups appropriating various aspects of each other in order to successfully pursue their own interests. The flow of appropriation is going in both directions as each group has valuable capital that the other can use in various fields. Two examples from above are the *Runanga* taking on various forms of governmentality in order to gain legitimacy and political capital and the non-Maori organizations accepting the Maori history of Takapuneke as the beginning of their historical narrative. As conditions on the fields change and the value of certain capitals shift in answer, the process of appropriation is also altered in order to adapt to those changes. In this way, the relationships between these organizations become multilayered.

The problem with any addition to the metanarrative is the potential dismissal of the micronarratives that made it possible. As those micronarratives are appropriated into the metanarrative, they are subsumed into the national identity, shifting their latent value. While this may not extinguish its value as a micronarrative, especially to the originators of the narrative, over time it may lead to its origins being forgotten. Indigenous people and minority populations the world over have experienced this to varying results. However, in the context of Takapuneke, Onuku *Runanga* has slowly worked toward gaining a position in order to ensure this process changes. This, it hopes, will ensure that it will have a hand in creating a narrative in which the micronarrative will not lose its value or origins, but instead be a focus of the story told.

As we have seen, the current metanarrative reinterpretation of the events at Takapuneke ignores the political situation on the Peninsula and the Canterbury region prior to the massacre, shifting the value of the site to its historical contingencies rather than its value as *tapu* to the Onuku community. In fact, the massacre itself is treated as a tragic afterthought, or more accurately a pre-thought. It occurred right on the border of the major events leading to the intervention of England into this outlying new land. This version quickly moves on to British official's actions in the Bay, resulting in the claim of Right of Discovery over the South Island and thus its inclusion with the North Island into a new colony of England.

At the same time, this new version of events can act as a way to include Maori into the beginnings of the state prior to the signing of the Treaty and shifts the designation of power within the metanarrative. With the current metanarrative beginning in Waitangi, Maori are given a certain amount of power that is implied by the Treaty itself. The signing was an event between two entities mediating the means of sovereignty and power within the landscape. Even if the outcome did not result in sharing power, the narrative implies that at one time there was a sort of equality present. If you look into the history, it is easy to see at that point the actual means of power was in the hands of Maori, but they chose to put faith in the Treaty. This leap of faith was also reflected in Maori interaction with bureaucratic institutions like the Land Court, which allowed Maori to dissent by using managed methods put in place by the bureaucracy and promoted through their form of colonial governmentality.

We have seen that Maori were ‘early adopters’ of colonial forms of governmentality, using the Treaty as a basis of their relationship. This adherence to socially acceptable means of protest was accepted as Maori wrote letters and met with officials in order to discuss the Treaty and various pieces of legislation that were affecting them. I have shown that in the case of Onuku *Runanga*, those methods were still being used throughout the struggle over Takapuneke from the 1970s onwards. However, the forms of governmentality had shifted throughout the events described in relation to Takapuneke. As Maori power within society rose after the renaissance of the late 1960s, Maori, including Onuku *Runanga*, were able to exercise their agency much more effectively. We saw this in the case of the *Runanga* being ignored when the sewage plant and dump were being built and how that focus of attention changed over the following thirty years.

Now that Maori were exercising that power in a more consistent fashion, bureaucratic organizations began to respond. As we saw in the case of Takapuneke, the accumulation of capital by Onuku *Runanga* because of its relationship as *kaitikai* to the site, assisted them in negotiating a potential outcome of protection for the area. This, too, shows a shift in the designation of power in the metanarrative. Yet, the power that is alluded to in that metanarrative is being taken on by Maori themselves to influence the construction of it in a way that positions them as ‘players’ on the field of power. As long as Maori continue to exercise their agency on issues that concern them they will continue to accumulate capital that they can convert for power in the necessary fields. The construction of land as mainly a utilitarian object that was produced during the colonial period is now in question due to the introduction of concepts like *kaitiakitanga* by Maori, which illustrates an

alternative path of ownership that predates the colonial form. Maori have gained enough of various species of capital to challenge those past notions with their own. Moreover, they are able to use methods that mirror bureaucratic organizations' ability to do so.

This ability to negotiate the position of these concepts within the wider society is based on the rise in the value of Maori cultural ideas and behaviors. As that value rose, Maori were taking on Pakeha modes of governmentality in order to take advantage of their new status within society. At the same time non-Maori groups, like HPT and ACT, took on Maori concepts that corresponded with their interests, showing that there could be cooperative relationships built over issues like the protection of culturally important sites. These changes in how groups are relating to each other allow for more workable interactions between them. Yet, this also shows us that power is not fixed, but that each group has a stake in how the relationship is constructed. Additionally, this allows the groups to come to an agreement about what is significant and how it might be valued.

Bourdieu's conceptualization of power relations through struggle over capital assisted my interpretation of this process of valuation by showing how different resources in society might gain or lose influence and power. As well, Bourdieu, in combination with the idea of the decentralization of the state and the rise in different forms of governmentality, helps to demonstrate how the categorization of Takapuneke has been extended to more than just Onuku *Runanga* or HPT or any other single institution. Rather it is a struggle over the position of each organization in relation to the resource that is continually changing over time. As was discussed in Chapter Two in reference to the theoretical concepts of landscape, ownership and property, and capital, the focus here is on process. As one aspect of the context changes, each group attempts to adapt (by recreation/reproduction or appropriation) to those changes by shifting their relations to the resource and each other.

The struggle over the significance of Takapuneke has offered us an illustration of this process of power shifting to Maori. As Maori power continues to grow in New Zealand society the balance of power will begin to equalize, allowing for more such struggles to occur. Yet, those struggles may also be over topics like the place of language, Maori ideals of resource management, health care or engaging in political issues. Moves such as mandating Maori language for inclusion in government publications and media, and the creation of programs to further Maori health and social welfare all show intent to move toward biculturalism. In this regard, the localized histories and landscape

constructions of Takapuneke are not only examples of change in the Akaroa area, but they also illustrate the larger context of the construction of both the nation and its territory. As Maori take advantage of the opportunities to exercise their agency in similar situations the perception of the national landscape will change. This may result in a cascade of cultural changes that could effect how bureaucratic institutions and Maori interact, reflecting the shift in the structure and weight of capital in the nation.

Such changes lead to new questions about how relations between Maori and non-Maori will be constituted in the future. It may be that Maori are not the only group taking on other ways of living and engaging society. In the end, Maori may have to accept that some Pakeha and others may take on their ways as well. Of course, this has already happened to some extent as we saw in Chapter Six, but this appropriation may extend to a much greater extent in everyday life rather than just officious settings. Whether that would result in co-opting those concepts and ways of living or a true vision of biculturalism in which each group adopts the concepts that they lack from others, depends on the ability of Maori (and other groups) to exercise their power in society. It may also lead to questions that have risen in other former colonial areas, such as the USA, as to what constitutes 'authentic' indigenous practice and lifeways. Such shifts will take place through negotiations of meaning over sites and issues like those at Takapuneke and through the resultant changes in relations between the groups involved in each case.

Through the analytic concepts of landscape, state and capital I have shown how groups gain access to capital in order to (re)create the construction of Takapuneke. The site has been valued in several ways throughout its history and the groups involved have attempted to take advantage of those values in order to use the site according to their own interests. This study has shown the site as a subject of the struggle as each of the groups attempt to control and reproduce the site's meaning and thus its future. This struggle has become possible due to the changing relationship between Maori and the non-Maori institutions and the state. As this change has been affected by the rising value of Maori culture within New Zealand, the struggle is no longer between dominant and subordinate, but between several groups competing from nearly parallel positions in relation to the capital at stake in Takapuneke. This will be an ongoing process that will reach various stages of stability and instability in the future. At some points it may resemble the sharing of ideas and at others it is sure to look as if one group is controlling the path that is being taken.

As we have seen with Takapuneke, the construction and interpretation of landscape will reflect the complexity of these relationships as values change within society. Pakeha and other groups, either of historic residence or new to the nation, will all take part in these emerging struggles. We will see how this process forms over the coming years as the management plan is constructed. By 2012, the plan is supposed to be completed. It will be instructive for the future to see the how the process forms and the relationships that are created through it as well as how that will influence the players and the goals of the plan. And as Uncle Paora put it at the last meeting – things are just getting started.

Appendix A – Thematic Framework for the HPT Register¹

The Register may include historic places and historic areas of:

- 1 Discovery, encounter, migration, exploration and survey
- 2 Settlement, accommodation and residence
- 3 Fishing, hunting and gathering
- 4 Farming, timber and forestry
- 5 Mining and minerals
- 6 Processing, manufacturing and construction
- 7 Trade, finance and retailing
- 8 Central and local government
- 9 Law and Justice
- 10 Dispute, war and defence
- 11 Transport by sea, land and air
- 12 Utilities, postage and communications
- 13 Education, science and technology
- 14 Health and welfare
- 15 Sport, outdoor recreation and conservation
- 16 Arts, culture, heritage and indoor recreation
- 17 Events, persons, ideas and movements
- 18 Religion, ritual and burial
- 19 Disasters, memorials and monuments

Historic Places and historic areas of Māori interest on the Register may include:

- 1 taunga waka (ancestral canoe landings)
- 2 pa and kainga (occupied in former times)
- 3 marae buildings and wharenui
- 4 mahinga kai (places where food was procured)
- 5 taunga ika (fishing grounds and associated features)
- 6 mineral and stone resource sites
- 7 wahi taonga mahi a ringa (resource sites for art materials)
- 8 places associated with kingitanga, governance and leadership
- 9 landscape features which determined the boundaries of iwi or hapū
- 10 ahi karoa (sites associated with claiming land occupation or ownership)
- 11 battle sites and defence sites where the tapu has been removed
- 12 ara (pathways connecting tribal areas or resource sites)
- 13 wananga and kura kaupapa (places of education and learning)
- 14 wahi taonga mahi (art sites, rock art, dendeoglyphs)
- 15 sites associated with mythological events
- 16 wahi whakamahara (sites recognized as memorials to historic events)

Wahi tapu and wahi tapu areas on the Register may include:

- 1 urupa (burial places)
- 2 rua koiwi (places where skeletal remains are kept)
- 3 sites where skeletal remains once were, unless the tapu has been removed
- 4 caverns and underwater burial places
- 5 places where baptismal rites were performed

¹ At the time of this writing this framework was being revised and this was taken from the most current draft.

- 6 wahi Whenua (repository places for placenta)
- 7 whare karakia
- 8 tuahu (enclosures used for divination and other mystic rites)
- 9 battle grounds and other places where blood was spilled and where the tapu has not yet been removed
- 10 waiora springs or sources of water for healing
- 11 sources of water for death rites
- 12 ara purahourua (sacred pathways for messengers)
- 13 places imbued with the mana of chiefs or tupuna
- 14 landforms such as mountains which embody the creation stories and whakapapa of Tangata Whenua

from New Preliminary DRAFT Thematic Framework for the Register, HPT 2003. Wellington: HPT.

Appendix B: Section of HPT’s written submission concerning the gazettal of the Takapuneke area as a Historic Reserve. Source: CCC 2008.

NZHPT registered Takapuneke as a Wahi Tapu Area in May 2002. The registered area comprises the two land parcels commonly referred to as “Green’s Point” (Lot 1 on Deposited Plan 73274, comprised in Certificate of Title CB42B/680) and “Takapuneke Reserve (Lot 1 DP76825, comprised in Certificate of Title CB40A/795). NZHPT considered Takapuneke Wahi Tapu Area to be of outstanding historical and cultural heritage significance to all New Zealanders. Significant Maori and Pakeha history comes together along this stretch of Akaroa Harbour. As is now well documented, Takapuneke is a place of deep spiritual significance to manawhenua [local Maori] on account of the deaths (including that of the Ngai Tahu ariki nui Te Maiharanui) that occurred there in November 1830. Historically, this massacre led to the series of events that culminated in the Treaty of Waitangi. The historic and cultural significance of Takapuneke is strengthened by its close proximity to Onuku, where amongst many significant events that took place, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. Takapuneke has additional significance in the colonial history of New Zealand as the place where the first effective demonstration of British sovereignty over the South Island occurred – the raising of the British flag and the holding of a court of law in August 1840. The Britomart Monument overlooking Takapuneke commemorates this event.

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